Harrisons Edition of The British Plutarch.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

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THE

BRITISH PLUTARCH,

CONTAINING

THE LIVES

OF THE MOST EMINENT

STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES,
WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS,
POETS, AND ARTISTS,

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE PRESENT TIME. INCLUDING A COMPENDIOUS VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, DURING THAT PERIOD.

A NEW EDITION,

CORRECTED AND CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

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THE

THE BRITISH PLUTARCH.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN COLET, D. D.

DEAN OF ST PAUL'S.

[A. D. 1466, to 1519.]

IN the various degrees of kindred merit, which endear the memories of illuſtrious men to lateſt poſterity, ſurely that which lays a foundation for the improvement of the human mind, through a long ſucceſſion of ages, by providing for the education of youth, deſervedly holds a very high rank. The reader therefore will not be diſpleaſed, that the chronological order of time, which we have engaged to follow accurately throughout this work, requires us to give the firſt place, in our extenſive field of emulative fame to the memoirs of the pious founder of St Paul's ſchool.

This excellent divine was the eldeſt ſon and heir of Sir Henry Colet, citizen and mercer, who, on the acceſſion of Henry VII. to the throne, had the honour of knighthood conferred on him, for his attachment to that Prince, after the death of Richard III. He was

likewiſe twice elected, by his fellow citizens, to the dignity of chief magiſtrate.

JOHN COLET was born at London, in the year 1466; and in 1483 he was ſent to Magdalen College, Oxford, where after purſuing the uſual ſtudies, at the expiration of ſeven years, he took his degree of maſter of arts, with diſtinguiſhed reputation: for at this time all the works of Cicero were as familiar to him as his epiſtles; neither was he a ſtranger to Plato and Plotinus, whom he diligently peruſed and compared, the one as a comment on the other. But ſuch was the infelicity of thoſe times, that the Greek language was not only neglected in our ſchools and univerſities, but the love, and encouragement of it, was looked upon as hereſy; in reference to which barbarous opinion, Eraſmus quotes a proverb, "*Cave a Græcis, ne fias hæreticus*, Beware of Greek, leſt you become a heretic." So that Colet was obliged to read the above-mentioned authors in their Latin tranſlations, till in his more advanced years he became acquainted with the great originals.

When Colet took his degrees in arts at Oxford, he had a competent eſtate to ſupport him as a gentleman, and ſufficient intereſt to recommend him at court. He had the advantage of a tall and graceful perſon: and the deſign of his being a courtier might perhaps have been conceived by his father, who had been uſed to gaiety and ſplendour in the public offices in the city, and had gained a very particular intereſt with the king. But the pious youth, determined by his now religious diſpoſition, was reſolved to enter into holy orders, and renounce the temptations of a courtly life. As a farther encouragement to our young divine, in 1485, he was preſented to the valuable rectory of Dennington in Suffolk, by Sir William Knevet, a near relation of his mother, which living he held to the day of his death; and in 1490 he was alſo preſented by his own father to the living of Thrynning, in the county of Huntingdon,

Huntingdon, which he reſigned in 1493, when he was admitted prebendary of Botevant in the church of York, upon the reſignation of the famous Chriſtopher Urſwicke. He was alſo made prebendary of Goodeaſter in the church of St Martin Le Grand, which he reſigned the 26th of January 1503, having been admitted the year before to the prebend of Durnesford in the church of Sarum.

Theſe preferments, beſtowed on ſo young a man, may ſeem a little extraordinary. But we muſt conſider that it was conformable to the practice of the Romiſh church; for Mr Colet being then an Acolyte, which is one of their ſeven eccleſiaſtical orders, he was duly qualified to hold them.

Mr Colet's ample income now afforded him the means of gratifying an inclination, which he had long indulged, of viſiting foreign countries, in order to complete his ſtudies in the learned languages, to read the ancient Greek fathers, and to cultivate an acquaintance and friendſhip with men of letters. With this intent, he quitted Oxford in the year 1493, and paſſing over to the continent, ſtudied divinity both in Italy and France, where he met with ſeveral other Engliſh ſtudents, who went abroad to attain the Greek tongue; for the paſſion for that language, and the purer writers in the Latin, was now grown very prevalent all over Europe, and no where more than in England, from whence numbers of the youth, and many advanced in life, continually went out in queſt of them: becauſe, though ſeveral volumes of the works of the beſt authors lay dormant in our colleges and monaſteries, the monks, who knew that ignorance was their chief ſupport, could by no means be prevailed on to communicate them.

Charles VIII. ſtyled *the affable and the courteous*, at this time ſat upon the throne of France, and patronizing the ſciences, Paris became the ſeat of learning, and a place of general reſort for men of eminence

in every profeſſion. In this city, therefore, Mr Colet took up his firſt reſidence; and ſoon became acquainted with Robert Gaguinus, the French hiſtorian, who had been in England on an embaſſy from Charles to Henry VII. This gentleman inſpired him with an ardent deſire to be recommended to Eraſmus, a ſpecimen of whoſe great genius, and ſkill in the Latin tongue, he had ſhewn him, in a complimentary letter upon the publication of his Hiſtory of France. Here likewiſe he formed an intimacy with the celebrated Budæus, who making honourable mention of our young divine in the courſe of his correſpondence with Eraſmus, laid the foundation of the future friendſhip which ſubſiſted between them.

From Paris, Mr Colet went to Italy, where his acquaintance with men eminent for their learning became ſtill more univerſal, eſpecially at Rome. In this city, the famous grammarian William Lilly firſt fell under his obſervation, who had learnt the Greek at Rhodes, and was improving himſelf in Latin under John Sulpitius and Pomponius Sabinus.

In Italy he alſo met with two more of his countrymen, Grocyn and Linacre, who were perfecting themſelves in the knowledge of the Greek tongue, under Demetrius, Politianus, and Hermolaus Barbarus. At Padua, he likewiſe cultivated an acquaintance with the learned William Latimer, who reſided for ſome time in that univerſity, with a view of increaſing his knowledge in Greek literature.

Colet remained about four years abroad, returning home in 1497: but upon this occaſion, it is ſaid, he had much difficulty to reſiſt his deſire of appearing at court, where he could ſhew the accompliſhments he had acquired in the world to the beſt advantage. Indeed, he was endowed with ſome natural propenſities which were better adapted to a public life, than to the confinement of a college. He had a high ſpirit, impatient of the leaſt injury and affront. By the ſame bent

of

of natnre he was alſo addicted to love and luxury; and was inclined to an air of freedom and pleaſantry. But he firſt conquered, and then commanded himſelf, by ſo far ſubjecting his paſſions to reaſon and philoſophy, that he could bear a reproof, even from his own ſervants. He reſtrained his diſpoſition to effeminate indulgencies, by a continual abſtinence, a ſtrict ſobriety, cloſe application, ſerious thinking, and religious converſation; and thus he preſerved himſelf from the pollutions of the world. But whenever opportunities offered, either of jeſting with facetious perſons, or talking familiarly with the female ſex, or of appearing at feaſts and entertainments, nature was ſure to break forth; for which reaſon, he very ſeldom aſſociated with laymen, and generally forbore all public places. If, however, neceſſity brought him to ſuch places, he ſingled out ſome learned perſon from the reſt, with whom he diſcourſed in Latin, to avoid the profane diſcourſe of the table; and, in the mean time, he would eat of but one diſh, and take but one or two draughts of beer, for the moſt part refraining from wine. "There never was (ſays Eraſmus) a more flowing wit; and, for that reaſon, he delighted in the like ſociety; but even there he choſe ſuch diſcourſes as favoured moſt of religion; and it is a proof of his great good-nature, that he was a paſſionate lover of little children, whoſe innocence he admired of all things."

The firſt thing Colet did, after his return home, was to be ordained deacon, and, ſhortly after, prieſt. His father and mother then lived at London, with whom he reſided a few months, and then retired to Oxford. It being the cuſtom at that time for men of diſtinguiſhed abilities in the univerſity to ſet up voluntary lectures, Mr Colet, though he had neither taken nor deſired any degree in divinity, read public lectures without ſtipend or reward, by way of expoſition of the epiſtles of St Paul. The novelty of theſe exerciſes occaſioned crowded audiences, and admiration of the lecturer

lecturer increaſed and continued them. There was not a doctor in divinity or law, or any other dignitary of the church, who neglected to hear Colet, or withheld from him the applauſe that he deſerved. The bigots only, and thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to keep up the old ignorance and ſuperſtition, treated his diſcourſes as thoſe of a heretic and ſchiſmatic, becauſe he openly avowed the neceſſity of a reformation.

Things were in this poſture at Oxford, when Eraſmus, who had been for ſome time at Paris, as tutor to the lord Montjoy, was prevailed on by that nobleman to come over to England; and having a recommendation to Richard Charnock, of the college of St Mary the Virgin, he went directly to that univerſity, where he was received and accommodated in the moſt friendly and hoſpitable manner; and at this time, and in this place, it was, that the intimate friendſhip between our Divine and Eraſmus commenced.

Charnock, to whom Eraſmus had been recommended, was alſo an intimate acquaintance of Colet's; to whom he had no ſooner mentioned the name of his gueſt, than we find him impatient to recommend himſelf to ſo excellent a perſon; for not waiting an opportunity to ſee Eraſmus, he immediately wrote him, from his own chamber, an elegant and polite epiſtle, which ſhewed the writer to be a ſcholar, a traveller, and a gentleman; concluding with theſe words, "I congratulate your arrival in this iſland, and wiſh our country may be as pleaſant to you, as I know, you, by your great learning, muſt be uſeful to us. I am, ſir, and ſhall always be, devoted to one whom I believe to be the moſt learned and the beſt of men." Eraſmus directly returned him an anſwer, equally polite and ſpirited, and ſaid, "If he could find any thing commendable in himſelf, he ſhould be proud of being commended by ſuch a worthy perſon, to whoſe judgment he allowed ſo great weight, that his ſilent eſteem alone had been preferable to all the applauſes of

of a theatre at Rome. Your country of England," adds he, "is moſt pleaſant to me upon many accounts, particularly in this, that it abounds with thoſe bleſſings, without which nothing would reliſh with me, men of admirable learning, among whom no one will repine that I reckon you the chief." He then praiſes the ſtyle of his letters, as eaſy, ſmooth, unaffected, flowing from a rich vein, as water from a clear fountain, every part like itſelf; open, plain, modeſt, having nothing in it rough, turbid, or intricate; ſo that he could ſee the image of his ſoul in what he wrote.

This epiſtolary correſpondence, joined to the recommendations of Budæus, ended in the ſtricteſt intimacy imaginable, which continued to the end of their lives. They ſtudied to improve each other, and inſtruct mankind: and though they ſometimes differed in opinion upon theological points, this did not produce the leaſt ill temper or coolneſs between them. On the contrary, in 1499, Eraſmus and his admired friend firſt held their conferences upon our bleſſed Saviour's reluctances and fears before his laſt paſſion. Colet could not approve of the common opinion of divines, that Chriſt, upon a proſpect of his agonies, ſhrunk from them in his human nature. Eraſmus maintained the opinion of the ſchoolmen; but Colet had the advantage of the beſt meaning, and of the greateſt courage, in departing from the common ſentiments of the ſchools and the church in that credulous age. Eraſmus concludes his epiſtle concerning this diſpute, in the moſt friendly and reſpectful manner, calling himſelf a raſh man, and a raw ſoldier, for entering the liſts with ſuch an experienced general as Colet: appearing pleaſed at his confutation, Colet telling him, "When, like two flints, we are ſtriking one another, if any ſpark of light flies out, let us eagerly catch at it; we ſeek not for our own opinion, but for truth, which, in this mutual conflict, may be extorted as fire

out of ſteel." Colet alſo freely expreſſed to Eraſmus his great diſlike of that new theology, which was unhappily brought into the church by the modern ſchoolmen, and was, in effect, nothing but the art of trifling and wrangling. He told him, he had ſet himſelf againſt thoſe ſcholaſtic divines, and would, if poſſible, reſtore the theological ſtudies that were founded upon the ſcriptures, and the primitive fathers. He ſaid it was upon this view, that he had publicly expounded the epiſtles of St Paul, and ſhould be glad of a partner in that labour of ſearching the ſcriptures.

When Eraſmus left England, Colet ſtill continued at Oxford, where he went on with his uſual expoſition of the apoſtolical epiſtles; though at this time the ſcriptures were little attended to by the generality of the clergy, ſcarcely any thing being regarded but ſcholaſtic divinity. In 1504, by the perſuaſion of his friends, he took the degree of doctor of divinity; but his thoughts were entirely bent on the deſtruction of that idol of ignorance, the cobweb divinity of the ſchools; aiming to exalt the ſcriptures and Jeſus Chriſt in its room. For this reaſon the ſchoolmen always looked upon Colet with a jealous eye. He frequently engaged them, always vanquiſhed them, and never convinced them. He continued, however, in conjunction with his friend Eraſmus, greatly to promote the Reformation, by attacking very ſucceſsfully the Scotiſts and the Thomiſts, who had divided the Chriſtian world between them; and alſo by diſcovering the ſhameful abuſes of monaſteries, and houſes called religious, and pointing out the evils which attended impoſing celibacy on the clergy.

Mr Colet, while he was abroad, had been made a prebendary in the church of York, and had been inſtalled by proxy in 1494; but farther promotion was to be the reward of his conſpicuous merit; for Henry VII. who loved to confer unexpected favours, and eſteemed

eſteemed Colet as an eminent divine, and excellent preacher, diveſted of ambition, judged him on this account the more worthy of preferment; and in 1505, made him dean of St Paul's, without his ſolicitation, or knowledge. And indeed this excellent man, as if he had been called only to the labours, not to the dignity of his office, reſtored the decayed diſcipline of his cathedral church, and brought in what was a new practice there, preaching himſelf upon Sundays; and he called to his aſſiſtance other learned divines, particularly Grocyn and Sowle, whom he appointed to read divinity lectures upon all ſolemn feſtivals. He would not take a deſultory text out of the goſpel or epiſtle for the day, but choſe a fixed and large ſubject, which he proſecuted in ſeveral ſucceſſive diſcourſes, till he went through the whole. He had always a full auditory, among whom were the chief magiſtrates of the city. Nor was he only a free and conſtant preacher of the goſpel in his own cathedral, but at court, and in many other churches, where his ſermons were much frequented, becauſe the ſtrict diſcipline of his life regularly correſponded with the integrity of his doctrine.

Till this time, there was ſcarcely ſo much as a Latin Teſtament in any cathedral church in England. Inſtead of the Goſpel of Chriſt, the goſpel of Nicodemus was affixed to a pillar in the nave of the metropolitan church of Canterbury. But the method that dean Colet took of expounding the ſcriptures began to raiſe in the nation an enquiry after thoſe oracles of God; and that he was more than half a Proteſtant, appears from his condemning auricular confeſſion, purgatory, and the daily celebration of the maſs. He would have all divine ſervice performed in a ſerious and ſolemn manner: he was delighted with the apoſtolical epiſtles; but more affected with the admirable words of our Saviour in the Goſpels, which he ſelected under proper heads, and intended to write a book upon them.

Eraſmus has tranſmitted the following relation of the dean's manner of living, as an example to poſterity: "The dean's table, (in the time of his predeceſſor) under the name of hoſpitality, had ſavoured too much of pomp and luxury, which he contracted to a more frugal and temperate way of entertainment. It had been his cuſtom, for many years, to eat only one meal a day, that of dinner; ſo that he always had the evening to himſelf. When he dined in private with his own family, he had uſually ſome ſtrangers for his gueſts; but few, becauſe his proviſion was frugal, though genteel. The ſittings were ſhort, and ſuch as pleaſed only the learned and good. After grace before meat, ſome boy, who had a good voice, read diſtinctly a chapter out of one of St Paul's Epiſtles, or out of the Proverbs of Solomon. When the chapter was ended the dean would mention ſome particular part of it, from which he would frame a ſubject for converſation, and aſk his companions their ſenſe of its meaning: but he ſo adapted his manner to their diſpoſitions, that he cauſed even theſe grave ſubjects neither to tire their patience, nor to give any other diſtaſte. Towards the end of the repaſt, he generally ſtarted another ſubject of diſcourſe; and then diſmiſſed his gueſts, profited both in mind and body from thoſe viſits which they paid him. The converſation of his particular friends gave him infinite delight, which he would ſometimes protract till far in the evening; but their diſcourſe was either on religion or learning. He was curious in the choice of his company; therefore, if he could not have ſuch as were agreeable, he cauſed a ſervant to read to him out of the ſcriptures. In his excurſions, ſays Eraſmus, he would ſometimes make me one of his company, and then no man was more eaſy and pleaſant. He always carried a book with him, and ſeaſoned his converſation with religion. He had an averſion to all indecent or improper diſcourſe; loved to be neat and clean in his apparel, furniture, entertainment,

entertainment, books, and whatever belonged to him; yet he deſpiſed all ſtate and magnificence. Though it was then a cuſtom for the higher clergy to appear in purple, his habit was only black. His upper garment was of plain woollen cloth, which in cold weather was lined with fur. Whatever he received by church preferments was delivered to his ſteward, to be laid out in family occaſions, or hoſpitality: and all that aroſe from his large paternal eſtate was appropriated to pious and charitable uſes."

Notwithſtanding the dean's holy life, he could not eſcape the cenſure of an heretic; for having a great tenderneſs and compaſſion for the honeſt people who ſuffered as Lollards, he had the courage to interpoſe for one of them with the king, who granted him his life and liberty. This act of humanity expoſed him to perſecution from the biſhop of London (a rigid Scotiſt, and a virulent perſecutor of the new ſect), who accuſed the dean of hereſy, and preſented articles againſt him to the archbiſhop of Canterbury. But Warham well knew the worth and integrity of Colet: and therefore defended and patronized him; nor would he give him the trouble of putting in any formal anſwer. It is alſo ſaid, that the biſhop would have made the dean a heretic for tranſlating the Pater Noſter into Engliſh, if the archbiſhop had not ſtood up in his defence.

But the troubles and perſecutions which Colet underwent only ſerved to increaſe his charity and devotion. He had a plentiful eſtate, without any near relations; and he was reſolved to conſecrate the whole property of it to ſome permanent benefaction in his life time, as William of Wykeham had done at Winchester in the reign of Edward III. The dean thought that it would promote the reſtoration and improvement of letters, to provide a grammar-ſchool, for the inſtruction of youth in the Latin and Greek languages. He apprehended that this would be laying

the beſt foundation for academical ſtudies, particularly thoſe of divinity; and conceived, that, in being the founder of one ſuch grammar-ſchool, he ſhould be the reſtorer of the two univerſities; and London being the place of his nativity, he deemed it moſt worthy of his intended beneficence: but the beſt account of this inſtitution is given by Eraſmus, who ſays, "He laid out a great part of his inheritance in building St Paul's ſchool, which is a magnificent fabric, dedicated to the child Jeſus. Two dwelling-houſes were added for the two maſters, to whom ample ſalaries are allotted. The ſchool is divided into four apartments: the boys have their diſtinct forms one above another; and every form holds ſixteen. The wiſe founder ſaw, that the greateſt hopes and happineſs of commonwealths were in the training up of children to good letters and true religion; for which noble purpoſe he laid out an immenſe ſum, and would admit no perſon to bear a ſhare in the expence."

The founder has not clogged this noble ſeminary with any ſtatute that might prevent it from being generally uſeful to the world. Children born in any part of the kingdom, even foreigners of all nations and countries, are capacitated to take part of its privileges. The wiſdom of the founder is alſo very apparent, in giving liberty to declare the ſenſe of his ſtatutes in general, and to alter or correct, add or diminiſh, as ſhould be thought proper or convenient, in future times, for the better government of the ſchool.

Theſe ſtatutes were drawn up by the dean himſelf, in Engliſh; but with ſuch a grave and pious ſtrain, that they ſeem to have been written by one who was not of the communion of the Romiſh church. In the prologue he ſays, that "deſiring nothyng more thanne education and bringing uppe children in good manners, and literature, in the yere of our Lorde a M. fyve hundred and twelfe, he bylded a ſcole the eſtende of Paulis churche, of CLIII. to be taught fre in the ſame. And ordained

ordained there a maiſter, and a ſurmaiſter, and a chapelyn, with ſufficient and perpetual ſtipendes ever to endure; and ſet patrones and defenders, governours and rulers of that ſame ſcole, the moſt honeſt and faithful fellowſhipe of the mercers of London."

As dean Colet had been the pious founder of this ſchool, ſo he alſo laboured to be the perpetual teacher and inſtructor of the ſcholars, by drawing up ſome rudiments of grammar, with an abridgment of the principles of religion, and publiſhed them for the ſtanding uſe of Paul's ſchool. It was called Paul's Accidence, and dedicated to William Lilly, the firſt maſter, in a ſhort elegant Latin epiſtle, dated the firſt of Auguſt, 1513. In this introduction to grammar, the dean preſcribed ſome excellent rules for the admiſſion and continuance of boys in his ſchool, which were to be read over to the parents, when they firſt brought their children, for their aſſent to them, as the expreſs terms and conditions of expecting any benefit of education there. The dean alſo prevailed on Eraſmus to tranſlate from the Engliſh the inſtitution of a Chriſtian man into Latin verſe, briefly and plainly, for the eaſy apprehenſion and memory of the boys; which was to be the ſchool-catechiſm; with many other good eſſays, both in poetry and proſe, towards directing and ſecuring the principles and morals of his ſcholars; and Eraſmus upon this occaſion dedicated to him his two books "De copia verborum ac rerum," to form the ſtyle, and help the invention of young ſcholars, commending his piety and judgment in thus conſulting and promoting the good of his country.

The troubles in which the dean had involved himſelf by his zeal for the holy ſcriptures, and his attempts to produce a reformation in the lives of the clergy, in the reign of Henry VII. did not diminiſh his fortitude and public ſpirit in that of his ſucceſſor: for we have a remarkable inſtance on record of his manly freedom and intrepidity, and of the high degree of eſteem in

which he ſtood with Henry VIII. any oppoſition to whoſe inclinations was generally fatal. When that monarch was preparing for war againſt France, doctor Colet was appointed to preach before him at court; which he did, and in general terms inveighed ſo ſtrongly againſt the impiety of going to war, that it was thought the preacher would have been ſent to priſon, or perhaps more ſeverely puniſhed. But the king ſent for Colet, and was at ſo much pains to convince him of the neceſſity of the war he was entering upon, that the dean, in a ſecond ſermon upon the ſame ſubject, preached up the lawfulneſs, the piety, and expediency of war for the ſervice of our country. This ſermon pleaſed the king ſo much, that he gave the dean thanks, and, ever after, his countenance; ſaying to his nobles, who attended him, "Well, let every one chuſe his own doctor, but this ſhall be mine." His Majeſty then took a glaſs of wine, and drank very graciouſly to the preacher's health, whom he diſmiſſed with all the marks of affection, and promiſed him any favour he ſhould aſk for himſelf or friends.

Beſides his dignities and preferments already mentioned, doctor Colet was alſo rector of the fraternity or gild of Jeſus in St Paul's church (for which he procured new ſtatutes;) one of the chaplains and preachers in ordinary to King Henry VIII. and if Eraſmus is not miſtaken, of his privy council. When he was about fifty years of age, he grew ſo weary of the world, that he formed a deſign to ſequeſter himſelf in ſome monaſtery, and there paſs the remainder of his days in peace and ſolitude; but, as he had many objections to the manner in which thoſe eſtabliſhments were conducted, he built a convenient houſe, within the precinct of the charter-houſe, near the pal ce of Sheene in Surrey, where he intended to retire in his old age, when unable to diſcharge the duties of his function. But death prevented him; for having been ſeized by that dreadful and epidemical diſeaſe called

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the ſweating ſickneſs, at two ſeveral times, he relapſed into it a third, which threw him into a conſumption, and carried him off, on the 16th of September 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age. One of his phyſicians judged his diſeaſe to be the dropſy: but no extraordinary ſymptoms appeared upon opening his body, only that the capillary veſſels of the liver had ſome puſtulary eruptions. His corpſe was carried from Sheene to London, and by the care of his aged mother, it was buried in the cathedral church of St Paul's, with an humble monument, and only this inſcription, deſigned by himſelf, JO. COLETVS. However, the company of mercers, being willing to ſhew how much they valued him, erected another to his memory with his effigies; but that being deſtroyed by the great fire, all that now remains is, the deſcription which Sir William Dugdale gives us of it, in his Hiſtory of St Paul's cathedral.

He wrote ſeveral things, but only the following were publiſhed before and after his death. 1. *Oratio habita a doctore Joanne Colet, decano ſancti Pauli, ad clerum in convocatione, anno* 1511. This was printed in 4to. by Richard Pynſon, and Dr Knight has reprinted it, in the appendix to his life of Colet, together with an old Engliſh tranſlation of it, ſuppoſed to have been made by the dean himſelf. It contains a very manly, ſenſible, and ſpirited attack upon the corruptions of the church and clergy of that age. 2. *Rudimenta Grammatices, &c.* called Paul's Accidence: this little manual, with ſome alterations, and great additions, now forms the ſyntax in Lilly's common grammar. 3. *Monition to a godly life.* 4. *Daily devotions, or the chriſtian's morning and evening ſacrifice.* Some manuſcript commentaries on St Paul, and on the apoſtolical epiſtles, were found in an obſcure corner of his ſtudy, but written in an illegible character, ſo that they were totally uſeleſs. In all probability, they were

only notes, from which he read his public lectures at Oxford.

The perſon of dean Colet, as deſcribed by Eraſmus, was tall and comely, and he was bleſſed with an eaſy, polite addreſs, which gave a grace to every thing he ſaid or did. His learning was uncommon for the age he lived in, his piety exemplary, and his public ſpirit as a preacher unprecedented; but his ſalutary reproof of vice in high ſtations was conveyed in ſuch ſtrong arguments, untinctured with pride or moroſeneſs, that it procured him advancement even under the reign of a moſt arbitrary prince, who put many of his ſubjects to death without mercy, for preſuming to arraign his conduct. In a word, dean Colet was one of the brighteſt ornaments of this country, and of the age in which he lived; and muſt be remembered with gratitude, as one of the chief inſtruments in the hands of Providence, for bringing about the reformation of theſe kingdoms from Popery; his bold diſcourſes from the pulpit on the abuſes which had crept into the church, and the ſcandalous lives of the clergy, having opened the eyes of the nation; and this happy impulſe to found a ſeminary of learning for youth, having given birth to that aſtoniſhing increaſe of thoſe charitable foundations, which took place, within thirty years before that important and memorable event.

Among the eminent perſons who have been educated at St Paul's ſchool, were the following: John Leland, William Camden, John Milton, Dr Richard Cumberland, biſhop of Peterborough, and Dr Arthur Aſhley Sykes. John Churchill, afterwards the great duke of Marlborough, was alſo a ſcholar at St Paul's ſchool: but he probably did not remain there a ſufficient time to make any conſiderable proficiency in claſſical literature.

*** Authorities. *Life of Eraſmus*, *Biographia Britan.* article, COLET; and Dr Knight's life of Colet.

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THE LIFE OF

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

[A. D. 1471, to 1530.]

THOMAS WOLSEY, afterwards the famous cardinal, affords us, in his life, one of the moſt extraordinary examples to be met with in hiſtory of the viciſſitudes of human events; who, being but the ſon of a butcher in the town of Ipſwich in Suffolk, was, from that mean beginning raiſed to the higheſt ſtations both in church and ſtate: but, like an idol, ſet up by Fortune, merely to ſhew her power, was again, in an inſtant, tumbled from all his greatneſs; and reduced even to a more wretched condition than that from which he was originally taken. 'Tis true, indeed, he enjoyed the advantage of liberal education; for we find, that his father obſerving in him an uncommon aptneſs to learn, ſent him early to the grammar ſchool; from whence, by means of his parents, who were people of ſome property, and other good friends, he was removed to, and maintained at Magdalen College, Oxford. Here he made ſo extraordinary a progreſs, that he took the degree of batchelor of arts when he was only fifteen years of age; in conſequence of which he was called, The boy batchelor. He was then admitted to a fellowſhip in the ſame college; and in the end nominated maſter of Magdalen ſchool, where the ſons of the then marquis of Dorſet were placed for their education.

This was a fortunate circumſtance to the new preceptor; for the marquis, ſending for his ſons, on the ſucceeding Chriſtmas, to paſs the holidays at his country-ſeat, invited the maſter to accompany them; and he was highly pleaſed with Wolſey's converſation, who, to his univerſal knowledge, added a moſt inſinu-

ating addreſs. The marquis alſo found the young gentlemen ſo much improved for the ſhort time they had been under his care, that he determined to reward ſuch merit and diligence with ſome diſtinguiſhed mark of approbation: and accordingly a benefice in his lordſhip's gift falling vacant during the receſs, he beſtowed it on Wolſey, which was his firſt eccleſiaſtical preferment. This was the rectory of Lymington in Somerſetſhire, to which he was inſtituted in 1500, being then in the 29th year of his age, and burſar of Magadalen College.

Wolſey quitted the univerſity, to take poſſeſſion of his living; but an accident happened very ſoon after, which made his new ſituation very diſagreeable to him. He was of a free and ſociable diſpoſition, while he was ſeeking his advancement in the world; and therefore lived upon the moſt free and friendly terms with his pariſhioners, and the neighbouring gentlemen. By ſome of theſe he was drawn to a fair at an adjacent town, where it is ſaid, that being intoxicated with liquor, he occaſioned a diſturbance: upon which Sir Amias Pawlet, a juſtice of the peace, who had already taken a diſlike to him, ſet him in the ſtocks.

This indignity, ſo diſhonourable to a clergyman, Wolſey had it not in his power to reſent at that time; but he neither forgot nor forgave it; for when he came to be lord high chancellor of England, he ſent for Sir Amias to London, and ſharply reprimanded him for his former indecent and diſreſpectful behaviour towards a clergyman, and a perſon to whom, as a paſtor, he owed obedience. He alſo ordered him, on no account, to preſume to quit the capital, without a licence firſt obtained: in conſequence of which prohibition, that gentleman continued in the Middle Temple no leſs than ſix years; though he endeavoured by many little acts of adulation and ſubmiſſion, to ſoften the chancellor's anger.

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But to return to the thread of our narrative. This mortifying accident gave Wolſey a diſtaſte to Lymington; and the death of his patron, the marquis of Dorſet, which happened ſhortly after, finally determined him to leave it. The next ſituation we find him in, is, that of chaplain to Dr Dean, archbiſhop of Canterbury; a ſtation to which, the author of the Britiſh Antiquities is inclined to think, Wolſey recommended himſelf by his own aſſiduity, rather than by the intereſt of others. He grew greatly in favour with the archbiſhop, and by his means the name of Wolſey was for the firſt time mentioned at the court of Rome; the Pope, at the archbiſhop's requeſt, granting his chaplain a diſpenſation to hold two benefices. However, this was the greateſt advantage Wolſey reaped from his connection with Dr Dean, who died in 1503; ſo that he was again obliged to look out for another patron.

A man of true genius, and proportionable induſtry, is ſeldom diſappointed in any views on which he employs the whole ſtrength of his underſtanding. Wolſey found in himſelf a particular inclination to a court life; and from ſeveral of his expreſſions, it ſhould ſeem as if he had been poſſeſſed with a notion of the grandeur, which awaited him in that ſphere; for he uſed to ſay, "If he could but ſet one foot in the court, he would ſoon introduce his whole body." With this view he ſtudiouſly attached himſelf to perſons in power; and having, during his reſidence in the weſt of England, contracted an acquaintance with Sir John Nephant, who, at the time of archbiſhop Dean's death, was treaſurer of Calais, and a great favourite of Henry VII. he thought he could not do better than offer his ſervice to him; and Sir John being about this time on his departure for Calais appointed him to be his chaplain, and took him over to France, as one of his family. In this ſituation, Wolſey ſo effectually inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of his new maſter,

maſter, that Sir John commited to his care the entire charge and management of his office; in the adminiſtration of which he gave ſuch ſatisfaction, not only to the treaſurer, but to all perſons who had any buſineſs to tranſact with him, that when Sir John obtained leave to reſign, on account of his great age, and returned to England, he recommended Wolſey in ſuch ſtrong terms to the king, that he put him upon the liſt of Royal Chaplains.

Thus Wolſey at laſt caſt anchor in his deſired port; and he did not ſcruple to ſay, that there were no advantages, however great, which he did not expect in conſequence of that event. But as he knew that a bare ſettlement at court was not ſufficient to ſecure a man's fortune, without a peculiar intereſt among the courtiers, he enquired out thoſe who were moſt acceptable to the king; and paid his devoirs with ſuch ſucceſs to Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, and Sir Thomas Lovel, the then reigning favourites, that they ſoon recommended him to the king, to perform a ſecret ſervice, which gave him a fair opportunity to diſplay his great political abilities, which was the baſis of his future promotions.

In the year 1508, the king having reſolved to enter into a ſecret negociation with the emperor Maximilian, who then reſided at Bruges in Flanders, in order to ſettle ſome points previous to his intended marriage with Margaret, ducheſs dowager of Savoy, the emperor's only daughter; it put him upon enquiring for a proper perſon to entruſt with this private embaſſy, and Wolſey was no ſooner mentioned by Fox and Lovel, as one excellently qualified to perform the ſervice Henry required, then the king commanded him immediately to be ſent for. After ſome private diſcourſe, being fully ſatisfied of his capacity, Wolſey's diſpatches were ordered; and on the Sunday following, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he ſet forward from

from Richmond, at which place Henry VII. then kept his court.

But how was Henry ſurprized, in leſs than three days after, to ſee Wolſey preſent himſelf before him! Suppoſing that he had protracted his departure, he at firſt began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders; but Wolſey informed him (as was really the caſe, through many favourable circumſtances which concurred in expediting his journey,) that he was juſt returned from Bruges, and had ſucceſsfully ſettled the negotiation with which he was charged. "Aye!" ſaid the king; "but, on ſecond thoughts I found ſomewhat had been omitted in your inſtructions, and I ſent a meſſenger after you with fuller powers." To which Wolſey replied, "That he had indeed met the meſſenger on the road in his return, and received the powers his majeſty mentioned; but having, during his ſtay at the imperial court, preconceived the purport of them, and the cloſe connection that buſineſs bore with his majeſty's ſervice, he had preſumed in his own authority, to rectify what he conſidered as a miſtake in his commiſſion, and humbly implored pardon for daring to exceed it."

Henry was ſo well pleaſed with this expedient, and ſtill more ſo with the ſucceſs of the negotiation, that he thanked him; declared in council, he was a man fit to be intruſted with the management of affairs of importance; and rewarded him with the deanery of Lincoln, and the prebends of Walton Brinhold and Stow. Theſe preferments enabled him to reſign the living of Lymington; and, to complete his good fortune, his graceful and eloquent relation of the particulars of his late embaſſy, before the council, attracted the notice of the Prince of Wales, who grew very fond of his company.

In 1509, Henry VII. died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Henry VIII. who at his acceſſion was only eighteen years of age. A more favourable event could not poſ-

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ſibly have happened for Wolſey; his firm friend Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, having now a motive of intereſt as well as affection to induce him to forward his promotion. The influence which Fox had maintained in the cabinet, during the late reign, gave way to the aſcendancy acquired over the young King by the earl of Surrey: the crafty prelate introduced Wolſey to a great familiarity with his new maſter, in the double view of oppoſing his rival, and of ſupporting his intereſt in the cabinet by acting under him. In conſequence of this plan, in the firſt year of the reign of Henry VIII. Wolſey was appointed the king's almoner, and upon the conviction of Sir Richard Empſon, one of the corrupt Judges in the late reign, the king gave him that rapacious miniſter's houſe, near his own palace of Bridewell, in Fleet-ſtreet, with ſeveral lands and tenements appertaining to the forfeited eſtate. The following year, 1510, he was admitted of the king's privy-council, made reporter of the proceedings in the ſtar-chamber, canon of Windſor, and regiſter of the order of the garter. Thus firmly ſeated, he ſoon convinced his patron, that he had miſtaken his character; for he totally ſupplanted both Surry and Fox, in the king's favour.

It may now be neceſſary to trace the means by which Wolſey gained the entire confidence of his royal maſter, and the ſole management of public affairs. "The young king, who had been kept under much reſtraint by his father, was now greatly diſpoſed, ſays Cavendiſh, to give a looſe to pleaſure, and to follow his princely appetite and deſire. His old and faithful counſellors would, however, occaſionally adviſe him to attend more to the public concerns of the nation, and to the duties of his regal character; but the almoner took upon him to diſcharge the king of the burthen of ſuch weighty and troubleſome buſineſs, putting him in comfort, that he ſhould not need to ſpare any time of his pleaſure, for any buſineſs that ſhould happen in the council, ſo long as he ſhould be there; who

who having his grace's authority, and by his commandment, doubted not to ſee all things well and ſufficiently perfected, making his grace privy firſt of all ſuch matters, before he would proceed to the accompliſhment of the ſame, whoſe mind and pleaſure he would follow to the uttermoſt: wherewith the king was wonderfully pleaſed."

In the year 1513, Wolſey gave ſuch a ſtriking proof of his extenſive capacity in the management of ſtate-affairs, even in the military department, that Henry from that time placed an unlimited confidence in his new miniſter. A war with France having been reſolved upon in council, the king determined to invade that kingdom in perſon, and committed to Wolſey the care of furniſhing and providing the formidable fleet and army employed upon that occaſion; and Wolſey, though the taſk to him was new, and to any one muſt have been difficult, took it upon him without repining, to ſhew that he would not ſcruple his ſovereign's commands in any thing.

Henry was earneſtly ſolicited by Pope Julius II. to enter into this war againſt Lewis XII. of France, the Pope's avowed enemy, and it is ſhrewdly conjectured that Wolſey adviſed it, as a means of recommending himſelf to the court of Rome: and Henry the more readily conſented, as he had in view the old claims of the kings of England to the crown of France. The diligence and diſpatch therefore with which the preparations for this expedition were completed, ſo highly pleaſed the king, that he gave Wolſey the deanery of Hereford, and made him chancellor of the order of the garter.

Henry arrived at Calais on the 30th of June, 1513, accompanied by the principal officers of his court, and his favourite Wolſey. The greateſt part of his army had landed before him, and were laying ſiege to Terouenne, a town ſituated on the frontiers of Picardy. The king ſoon joined them; and during the ſiege the emperor

emperor Maximilian arrived in the Engliſh camp, with a conſiderable reinforcement, entered into Henry's ſervice, wearing the croſs of St George, and received one hundred crowns daily for his pay. Soon after, the Engliſh fell in with a convoy of proviſions and ammunition for the uſe of the beſieged; and theſe being attacked, a general engagement enſued, when the French were totally defeated by Henry and the emperor. The conſternation of the French was ſo great, that they fled with the utmoſt precipitation: and the cavalry making more uſe of their ſpurs, than of their ſwords, this engagement was called, *The battle of the ſpurs*. Terouenne ſurrendered in conſequence of this victory; Henry entered it in triumph, and delivered it up to Maximilian, who ordered the walls to be razed to the foundation, that the dominions of his grandſon Charles of Auſtria might not be expoſed to inſults from the garriſon of this fortreſs.

Henry then laid ſiege to Tournay, which capitulated in a few days: and the biſhop refuſing to take the oath of allegiance to the Engliſh ſovereign, the biſhopric was given by the king to Wolſey, who held it five years; and when the city was reſtored to France, he obtained an annual penſion from the French king, in lieu of the biſhopric.

Soon after the ſurrender of Tournay, Henry concluded a new treaty with the emperor, which was ratified at Liſle. He then embarked for England, where he arrived in October, after a moſt glorious campaign: and in the following year Wolſey was promoted firſt to the ſee of Lincoln, and then to the archbiſhopric of York, on the death of Cardinal Bainbridge.

Much about this time, the duke of Norfolk, finding the exchequer almoſt exhauſted, was glad to reſign his office of treaſurer, and retire from court. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, partly overcome by years and infirmities, and partly diſguſted at the aſcendancy acquired by Wolſey, likewiſe withdrew himſelf entirely to the

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care of his dioceſe. The duke of Suffolk alſo had taken offence, that the king, by the favourite's perſuaſion, had refuſed to pay a debt which he had contracted during his abode in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. Theſe incidents left Wolſey without a rival, and his power over the king became abſolute; though, when Fox, before his retirement, warned Henry "not to ſuffer the ſervant to be greater than his maſter," that prince replied, "That he knew well how to retain all his ſubjects in obedience."

But it was a maſter ſtroke of policy in our artful prelate, that, while he ſecretly directed all public councils, he ſtill pretended a blind ſubmiſſion to the royal will; by that means concealing from his ſovereign, whoſe imperious temper would otherwiſe have ill-brooked a director, the abſolute power he was gaining over him. And Henry, in nothing more violent than his attachments while they laſted, thought he could never ſufficiently reward a man ſo entirely devoted to his pleaſure and ſervice. In conſequence of this, Wolſey held at one time ſuch a multitude of preferments, as no churchman beſides himſelf was ever endowed with. He was even ſuffered to unite with the ſee of York the biſhoprics of Durham and Wincheſter, with the rich abbey of St Alban's; and now the Pope obſerving the daily progreſs he made in the king's favour, and that in fact he governed the nation, being deſirous of engaging ſo powerful a miniſter in the intereſt of the apoſtolic ſee, to complete his exaltation at once, created him a cardinal in 1515, under the title of Cardinal of St Cecile, beyond the Tyber.

The grandeur which Wolſey aſſumed upon this new acquiſition of dignity is hardly to be paralleled. The ſplendor of his equipage, and coſtlineſs of his apparel, exceeds all deſcription. He cauſed his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a perſon of rank; and, when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on

no place but the altar. A prieſt, the talleſt and moſt comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of ſilver, on the top of which was placed a croſs; but not content with this parade, to which he thought himſelf entitled as cardinal, he provided another prieſt of equal ſtature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the croſs of York, even in the dioceſe of Canterbury; contrary to the ancient rule and agreement between thoſe rival metropolitans. The people indeed made merry with the cardinal's oſtentation upon this occaſion; and ſaid they were now ſenſible, that one croſs alone was not ſufficient for the expiation of his offences. But Warham, chancellor, and archbiſhop of Canterbury, having frequently remonſtrated againſt this affront to no purpoſe, choſe rather to retire from public employment, than wage an unequal conteſt with the haughty cardinal. He reſigned his office of chancellor therefore, and the ſeals were immediately intruſted to Wolſey; who, upon this new promotion, added to his former parade four footmen carrying gilt pole-axes, a gentleman to carry the great ſeal before him, and an additional train of attendants, who rode on horſe-back; but the chancellor himſelf was mounted upon a mule, capariſoned with crimſon velvet. In this ſtate he reſorted every Sunday to the court at Greenwich, from York-houſe, now Whitehall.

The cardinal, while he was only almoner to the king, had rendered himſelf extremely unpopular by his ſentences in the ſtar-chamber, a moſt arbitrary and unconſtitutional court, where he preſided, and gave every thing as his maſter would have it, without any reſpect to the juſtice of the cauſe. But now that he was lord high chancellor of England, he made full amends, by diſcharging that great office with as penetrating a judgment, and as enlarged a knowledge of law and equity, as any of his predeceſſors or ſucceſſors.

But Wolſey, to increaſe his power over the clergy, as well as the laity, ſought for farther eccleſiaſtical promotion,

promotion, and in this, as in every thing elſe, he ſoon ſucceeded. Cardinal Campeggio had been ſent as a legate into England, in order to procure a tythe from the clergy, for enabling the Pope to oppoſe the progreſs of the Turks, a danger which was real and formidable to all Chriſtendom, but had been ſo often made uſe of as a pretence to ſerve the intereſted purpoſes of the court of Rome, that it had loſt all influence on the minds of the people. The clergy therefore refuſed to comply with Leo's demand. Campeggio therefore was recalled in 1516; and the king deſired of the pope, that Wolſey, who had been joined in this commiſſion, might alone be inveſted with the legantine power, together with the right of viſiting all the clergy and monaſteries; and even with ſuſpending the whole laws of the church during a twelvemonth.

This additional honour was no ſooner obtained, than Wolſey made a ſtill greater diſplay of pomp and magnificence. On ſolemn feaſt-days he was not contented without ſaying maſs after the manner of the pope himſelf: he had not only biſhops and abbots to ſerve him, but even engaged the firſt nobility to give him water and a towel; and Warham the primate having wrote him a letter, where he ſubſcribed himſelf, "Your loving brother," Wolſey complained of his preſumption, in challenging ſuch an equality. Upon Warham's being told however of the offence he had given, he made light of it, ſaying, "Know ye not that this man is drunk with too much power?" But Wolſey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and oſtentation. He erected an office, which he called the legantine court; in which, as Lord Herbert ſays, he exerciſed a moſt odious and tyrannical juriſdiction; and he rendered it ſtill more obnoxious, by appointing one John Allen to be the judge, a man of ſcandalous life, whom he himſelf, as chancellor, had condemned for perjury. This wretch committed all ſorts of rapine and extortion: for, making an enquiry into the life of every

every body, no offence eſcaped cenſure and puniſhment, unleſs privately bought off; in which people found two advantages; one, that it coſt leſs; the other, that it exempted them from ſhame. Thus, as the rules of conſcience are in many caſes of greater extent than thoſe of law, he found means of ſearching into their moſt ſecret concerns; beſides, under this colour, he arrogated a power to call in queſtion the executors of wills, and the like. He ſummoned alſo all religious perſons (of what degree ſoever) before him; who, caſting themſelves at his feet, were grievouſly reproached, and terrified with expulſion, till they had compounded; beſides which, all ſpiritual livings which fell were conferred on his creatures.

No one dared carry to the king any complaint againſt theſe uſurpations of Wolſey, till Warham ventured to do it. Henry profeſſed his ignorance of the whole matter: "A man (ſaid he) is not ſo blind any where as in his own houſe. But do you go to Wolſey, and tell him, if any thing be amiſs, that he amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to be minded, and in effect only ſerved to augment Wolſey's enmity to Warham, whom he had never loved ſince the diſpute about erecting his croſſes. However, one London having proſecuted the legate's judge in a court of law, and convicted him of malverſation and iniquity, the clamour at laſt reached the king's ears, who rebuked the cardinal ſo ſharply, that from that time he became, if not better, more wary than before.

The cardinal was now building himſelf a very magnificent palace at Hampton Court, whither ſometimes he retired, as well to mark the progreſs of the work, as to procure a ſhort receſs from the fatigues of his buſineſs; which at that time was very great, conſidering that, over and above what immediately related to his archbiſhopric, his legatine character, and his place of chancellor, he had all the affairs of the nation on his hands; yet the public tranquillity was ſo well eſtabliſhed,

ed, and the general adminiſtration of juſtice, through his means, ſo exact, that eaſe and plenty bleſſed the land, in a manner unknown for many preceding reigns. This happy diſpoſition at home led Henry, in the year 1520, to give way to the ſolicitations of Francis the Firſt, king of France, and he conſented to an interview with that monarch, which was to be between Guienne and Ardres; the kings, by mutual conſent, committing the regulation of the ceremonial to the cardinal's diſcretion.

The occaſion of this interview was the death of Maximilian, which happened the preceding year; and the kings of France and Spain, being competitors for the imperial throne, ſeparately paid their court to Wolſey, to engage his maſter in their intereſt; and the politic Wolſey encouraged both, receiving from them very rich preſents and penſions. Theſe rivals were Francis I. and the famous Charles V. who was elected emperor; and who, having other grounds for a rupture with Francis, came over to England privately, after his election, by the cardinal's connivance, to divert Henry from this famous interview. Charles met the king at Dover; but all he could obtain was a promiſe from Henry, that nothing ſhould be tranſacted between him and the king of France prejudicial to his intereſt. The cardinal was now careſſed and flattered by moſt of the powers of Europe: the ſenate of Venice in particular addreſſed him in a letter, in which they felicitated him on the fortunate conduct of an event that required the moſt conſummate prudence; the Pope too gave him very ſtrong teſtimonies of his approbation, granting him a yearly penſion of 2000 ducats, and conſtituting him perpetual adminiſtrator of the biſhopric of Bajadox.

By theſe extenſive ſubſidies from foreign courts, and the unlimited munificence of his own ſovereign, who was continually loading him with ſpiritual and temporal monopolies, Wolſey's income is reported to have fallen

fallen little ſhort of the revenues of the crown of England. This was a circumſtance ſufficient to raiſe the ambition of a man, naturally ſo aſpiring as the cardinal, to any height.

Upon the death of Pope Leo X. 1520, he thought of nothing leſs than being poſſeſſed of St Peter's chair; and immediately diſpatched a ſecretary with proper inſtructions to Rome; at the ſame time writing to the emperor, and the king of France, to aſſure them, that, if he was elected ſupreme Pontiff, they ſhould meet with ſuch friendly and equitable treatment as they could expect from no other quarter. The former of theſe princes, indeed, was bound by promiſes which he had repeatedly given him, to aſſiſt Wolſey in procuring the papacy; but, before the meſſenger arrived at Rome, the election was over, and Adrian, biſhop of Tortoſa, who had been the emperor's tutor, was choſen; though Wolſey, upon different ſcrutinies, had nine, twelve, and nineteen voices.

He was, probably, chagrined at the behaviour of Charles V. who had openly violated his word with him; yet ſmothering his reſentment for the preſent, when the emperor made a ſecond viſit to England (partly to appeaſe him, whom he feared to have offended), the cardinal very readily accepted his excuſes; and on Adrian's death, which happened ſome years after, he applied again for Charles's intereſt, which was poſitively engaged to him for the next vacancy: but though this application was backed by a recommendatory letter under Henry's own hand, and Wolſey, knowing the power of gold in the conclave, had taken care to work ſufficiently with that engine; his hopes, however, of the pontificate were a ſecond time rendered abortive, chiefly owing to his abſence, and his reliance on the emperor, who never intended he ſhould be Pope, though he had ſettled an annual penſion upon him, and at different times treated him with

with the utmoſt complaiſance and diſtinction, ſtyling him, in his letters, "our moſt dear and ſpecial friend."

In the year 1521, in an aſſembly of prelates and clergy, held at York-houſe, the doctrines of Luther were condemned: forty-two of his errors were enumerated; and cardinal Wolſey publiſhed the pope's bull againſt Luther, and ordered all perſons, on pain of excommunication, to bring in all the books of Luther in their hands. But though Wolſey was thus concerned in cauſing the doctrines of Luther to be condemned, it appears by an article of his impeachment, that he was no perſecutor of heretics; for he is accuſed of remiſſneſs on that head, by means of which Lutheraniſm had gained ground.

The pride and oſtentation of the cardinal, together with his unbounded power, had raiſed him many powerful enemies, eſpecially amongſt the nobility, whom he affected to treat with arrogance and contempt. This behaviour was openly reſented by Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, the only courtier who ventured to oppoſe him. Wolſey therefore reſolved to ſacrifice this great man, whoſe diſcontent he apprehended might have ſome effect upon the king. The duke of Buckingham was one of the greateſt ſubjects of the kingdom, highly in favour with the people, and in poſſeſſion of a poſt which gave him a power of controlling the actions even of the ſovereign. He was hereditary high conſtable of England, an office which was aboliſhed at his death, and perhaps was one cauſe of haſtening it: for Henry had often expreſſed his jealouſy of Buckingham's official authority. Indeed, the ceremonial obſerved by the high conſtable at the coronation had been very diſguſtful to this arbitrary prince. It was cuſtomary for the conſtable to receive a ſword from our kings, which holding in his hand, he pronounced aloud, "With this ſword, I will defend thee againſt all thine enemies, if thou governeſt according to law; and, with this ſword, I and the people of England

England will depoſe thee, if thou breakeſt thy coronation oath." The duke having let fall ſome imprudent expreſſions in private company, that, if the king ſhould die without iſſue, he would lay claim to the crown, as the deſcendent of Anne of Glouceſter, grand-daughter to Edward III. in which caſe he would puniſh Wolſey according to his demerits; the cardinal by his ſpies obtained farther intelligence, from the duke's domeſtics, of his correſponding with one Hopkins, a monk and pretended prophet, who had given him hopes of ſucceeding to the crown. This indiſcretion, combining with the nature of his office, and his public diſapprobation of the favourite, revived Henry's ſuſpicions, and prevented him from diſcovering that the duke was a devoted victim to the cardinal's reſentment. Wolſey having collected materials for an impeachment, and deprived the duke of his two principal friends, the earl of Northumberland his father-in-law, whom he had committed to the Tower, on a ſlight pretext, and the earl of Surry his ſon-in-law, whom he had ſent governor to Ireland; he cauſed him to be arreſted, and accuſed of high treaſon, of which being convicted by a very thin and partial houſe of peers, he was beheaded on the 13th of May. From this moment Wolſey loſt the little remaining credit he had with the people of England, who openly libelled him for this act of tyrannic cruelty. The emperor, upon hearing of the duke's death, ſaid, "that the butcher's dog had worried the faireſt hart in England."

At this period, the emperor and the French being at variance made Henry the umpire to decide their quarrel. Upon this occaſion, the king ſent Wolſey in quality of mediator, in his name, and veſted with full power to treat with the plenipotentiaries of the contending princes at Calais. The conferences were opened on the 4th of Auguſt; but Wolſey countenanced the emperor in ſuch unreaſonable demands, that the French miniſters rejected them; and Wolſey then

then paid a viſit to the emperor at Bruges, where he was received with all the honours due to royalty, and concluded an offenſive alliance, in his maſter's name, with the emperor againſt France. Henry by this treaty promiſed to invade France, the following ſummer, with 40,000 men, and betrothed to the emperor the princeſs Mary, his only child. If any thing could have diſgraced the cardinal at this time, this extravagant alliance muſt have effected it; being not only contrary to the true intereſts of the kingdom, but having a tendency to render it dependant on the emperor, by his marrying the heireſs of the crown. War was declared againſt France in 1522, and this ſhameful treaty proved in the end one cauſe of the cardinal's diſgrace: for, in order to maintain the incidental charges of the war, the king by the advice of Wolſey exacted a general loan from his ſubjects, amounting to one tenth of the effects of the laity, and one fourth of thoſe of the clergy; which, ſays Rapin, excited general clamours againſt the cardinal throughout the kingdom; but, on the tax being more gently levied than it was at firſt intended, the ſtorm blew over for the preſent; though another event occaſioned ſome fruitleſs complaints againſt him.

Among other branches of erudition, he founded the firſt Greek profeſſorſhip at Oxford, but, not thinking that a ſufficient mark of his eſteem, in the year 1525, he determined to build a college, as a laſting monument of his zeal and gratitude towards the ſeminary in which he had received his education; and, having obtained the royal aſſent to commence his projected foundation, the firſt ſtone of that magnificent ſtructure, then called Cardinal, but now Chriſt's College, Oxford, was laid, with a ſuperſcription in honour of the founder; the cardinal at the ſame time building a grammar ſchool at Ipſwich, the place of his nativity, to qualify young ſcholars for admittance to it. But in the proſecution of theſe ſchemes he ſtruck upon a dangerous

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gerous rock; for, having raiſed his college on the ſcite of a priory, diſſolved and given him by the king for that purpoſe, he alſo procured authority to ſuppreſs ſeveral monaſteries in different parts of the kingdom, in order to ſupport his new ſociety. Indeed, the pope's bulls, which were ſent over to confirm theſe grants, had often been a ſanction for committing much greater offences: however, his ſeizing upon the revenues of religious houſes was looked upon as ſacrilege; and the king for the firſt time openly approving the diſcontent of the people againſt him, ſeveral ſatires were publiſhed reflecting on Wolſey's conduct. But it does not appear that he thought it worth his while to enquire after any of the authors, notwithſtanding Skelton, the poet laureat, was ſo apprehenſive on account of ſome ſcurrilous verſes of his writing, that he took refuge in the ſanctuary, to avoid the cardinal's reſentment.

Wolſey, however, about this time, had gained a freſh aſcendancy over his ſovereign by a ſecret tie, known only to a very few perſons about the court. In the courſe of this year, a young lady was introduced at the Engliſh court, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, or Bullen; who having been formerly in the ſervice of the queen of France, Henry's ſiſter, was received by queen Catherine as one of her maids of honour. It is ſaid, that the king no ſooner ſaw her, than he was ſtruck with her beauty; however, his paſſion lay concealed for ſome time, and was firſt diſcovered by the following accident.

The cardinal's revenue, and manner of living, in all reſpects, equalled the ſtate of a ſovereign prince. His houſhold conſiſted of eight hundred perſons, many of whom were knights and gentlemen, and even ſome of the nobility fixed their children in his family, as a place of education, ſuffering them to bear offices as his domeſtics. Among theſe was the earl of Northumberland, whoſe ſon, the lord Percy, frequently attending

attending the cardinal to court, had there an opportunity of converſing with the ladies: and he addreſſed Mrs Boleyn, in particular, with ſo much perſuaſive eloquence, that in the end he gained her affections, and they were privately affianced to each other. Yet was not their amour conducted ſo ſecretly but it came to the king's ears. The violence of his temper immediately broke out; he ordered Wolſey to ſend for the earl of Northumberland; and the young nobleman being ſeverely rebuked by his father for the indiſcretion he had been guilty of, the affair ended in a formal diſſolution of the contract, the marriage of Lord Percy to a daughter of the earl of Shrewſbury's, and the diſmiſſion of Anne Boleyn from court to her relations in the country. But the impetuoſity of the king's paſſion daily increaſing, he could no longer bear her out of his ſight; ſhe was therefore recalled from her baniſhment; but, prior to that event, a remarkable circumſtance happened, which gave riſe to the ſubſequent proceedings in relation to the divorce, and was another cauſe of Wolſey's diſgrace.

In the year 1527, ambaſſadors came from France, in order to conclude ſeveral treaties between Henry, who had abandoned the emperor's party, and the French king; one of which was, that Francis, or his ſon the Duke of Orleans, ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary, Henry's only daughter; the commiſſioners met ſeveral times, and adjuſted all points to mutual ſatisfaction; but in proceeding upon this article ſome diſpute aroſe. The biſhop of Tarboe, one of the French king's plenipotentiaries, ſaid "he could not help having ſome doubts about the princeſs Mary's legitimacy, on account of her being the daughter of queen Catherine, who had formerly been married to prince Arthur:" and, in ſhort, he gave broad hints, that the king had committed an unlawful act in marrying his brother's widow. Whether this objection was ſtarted by previous agreement, in order to ſerve the king's

ſecret

ſecret purpoſes, we cannot ſay: however, it is certain he made a handle of it, to excuſe his ſubſequent proceedings; and from this time openly avowing his affections to Anne Boleyn, the courtiers worſhipped her as the riſing ſun, through whoſe influence alone the royal favour was to be raiſed and cultivated.

Wolſey could not be blind to the progreſs this fair favourite was making in his maſter's heart; though in all probability he at firſt thought the king meant no more than to have an intrigue with her, with reſpect to which kind of intercourſe, it is well known, his eminency entertained not the moſt evangelical notions. He bowed with the croud therefore, and left nothing untried that might engage the new miſtreſs to his intereſt; but, when he found by ſome words his Majeſty let fall, that not being able to obtain the favours he ſought from her on any other terms than thoſe of wedlock, he was determined at all events to gratify his paſſion; there was no argument poſſible to divert the king from his intention, that the cardinal did not uſe; nay, he often repeated his prayers and intreaties on his knees. But his zeal was far from being pleaſing to Henry, who could not bear any thing like reſtraint: and this oppoſition to her advancement may alſo account for the ill-will Anne Boleyn afterwards bore the cardinal: though, upon her ſecond appearance in the royal family, ſhe for ſome time carried it very fairly towards him; and wrote him ſeveral kind and reſpectful letters, which are yet to be ſeen under her own hand.

It is not to be wondered at, that the cardinal's ſecret enemies at court ſhould embrace ſo favourable an opportunity as this appeared, to undermine a man whom they durſt not openly attack; for it was dangerous meddling with Henry, where his prepoſſeſſions were to be removed. They pitched upon Anne Boleyn, therefore, (whoſe averſion to Wolſey they were not unacquainted with) as the propereſt engine to work with;

with: and an occaſion offering ſhortly after, to remove the miniſter at a diſtance from the king, they took care to improve that advantage as the moſt neceſſary meaſure for promoting the ſucceſs of their deſigns. This year the wars in Italy had been carried to great extremity. The city of Rome was ſacked by German ſoldiers; and Clement VII. was actually in captivity to the emperor. Both Henry and his premier expreſſed great uneaſineſs at this diſaſter; and the cardinal having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral embaſſies to foreign princes, his foes in the council propoſed that he ſhould be ſent ambaſſador at the preſent critical juncture, in order to induce the court of France to mediate for the Pope's releaſe, Francis I. having made his peace with the emperor, as well as to ſettle ſome other matters more immediately relative to the ſtate of the nation.

Whether Wolſey was aware of the plot laid againſt him, is not certain. He had undoubtedly an eager deſire to ſerve the Roman pontiff; and perhaps thought himſelf too firmly riveted in his maſter's eſteem, to be ſhaken by the cabals of a faction. Be this as it may, on the 11th of July he left London, with a numerous and ſplendid retinue; the furniture of the mule on which he himſelf rode being richly embroidered with bits and ſtirrups of maſſy gold. But to give a circumſtantial account of this tranſaction would afford very little entertainment to the reader, who may find it at large in all our Engliſh hiſtories: we ſhall only obſerve therefore, that the cardinal at this time concluded a moſt advantageous treaty with France; that he was entertained on the continent with a magnificence hardly to be paralleled; and that, having ſtaid on his embaſſy about two months, he returned home, where, in ſpite of the endeavours of his enemies in his abſence, he was received by the king with the warmeſt marks of eſteem and approbation.

After this embaſſy, the king's attachment to him ſeemed to increaſe; for, beſides acknowledging the great ſervice the cardinal had done in that affair, in a letter under the royal hand and ſeal, he was pleaſed to appoint a public thankſgiving on the occaſion, going himſelf with his queen, and great numbers of the nobility and gentry, to St Paul's church; and afterwards in grand proceſſion to dine with the cardinal. It was in conſequence of this embaſſy alſo that he beſtowed on Wolſey the rich biſhopric of Wincheſter; and upon the ſickneſs of Clement VII. the legate endeavouring a third time for the triple crown, he recommended him ſo ſtrenuouſly, that there is hardly any doubt to be made of the king's ſerious inclination to raiſe him to the Popedom; and, had not his holineſs unexpectedly recovered, it is highly probable that the cardinal of York would at this time have enjoyed the object of his wiſhes.

In the ſame year that Wolſey went into France, and not many weeks after his return, the French king ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, in order to ratify the treaties made between the two crowns. On this occaſion, Wolſey took upon him to regulate the reception given to the foreigners; and certainly, if we may credit the report of Cavendiſh, who was an eye-witneſs to all that paſſed during their ſtay in England, theſe ambaſſadors were entertained with a coſt and ſumptuouſneſs utterly unknown to modern times; banquets, balls, tournaments, diſtinguiſhed every day; and, as it was one of the laſt efforts of his miniſterial ſplendor, we ſhall inſert the particulars of one of the magnificent and ſumptuous entertainments given by the cardinal at Hampton court to theſe ambaſſadors of Francis I. "The cardinal having commanded his purveyors to ſpare no expence or pains, the appointed day being come, the company aſſembled about noon, from which time, till that of ſupper, they hunted in one of the king's parks, within three miles of Hampton; on their return,

return, which was not till evening, every perſon was conveyed to a different apartment, each being furniſhed with fire and wine, and no leſs than two hundred and eighty beds in the whole, where they ſtayed till they were ſummoned to the banqueting rooms.

"Theſe were all ſet out in a very ſplendid manner, being hung with cloth of gold and ſilver, and having rich luſtres deſcending from the cielings, with large ſconces of ſilver, gilt, and filled with wax lights, which were fixed againſt the walls. But the preſence chamber exceeded all the reſt; where was fixed a ſumptuous canopy, under which was the table placed by itſelf for the cardinal; here were the great bouffets and ſide-boards loaded with gold and ſilver plate, which caſt ſuch a brightneſs by the reflection of the tapers, as was quite aſtoniſhing; here alſo the gentlemen of the cardinal's houſhold, richly dreſſed, waited to ſerve, and all things thus prepared, the trumpets being ſounded, the gueſts came in to ſupper; which conſiſted of ſuch abundance, both of different meats and cookery, as ſurpriſed the French ambaſſadors, who were ſo charmed with the ſplendor of what they ſaw, and the ſweetneſs of the muſic they heard playing on every ſide of them, that they ſeemed wrapt in heavenly paradiſe.

"Now all this time the cardinal was abſent; but on the appearance of the ſecond courſe, he ſuddenly came in among them booted and ſpurred. All the company attempted to riſe: but his eminency deſiring they would keep their places, he ſat down at his own table in his riding dreſs, as he was, and grew as merry and agreeable as he ever had been known in his life. This ſecond courſe (Cavendiſh obſerves) muſt have been the fineſt thing the Frenchmen ever ſaw; but the rareſt curioſity in it (adds he) at which they all wondered, and indeed was worthy of wonder, was a caſtle of images in the ſame, like St Paul's church, for the model of it, where were beaſts, birds, fowls, perſonages

ſonages moſt excellently made, ſome fighting with ſwords, ſome with guns, others with croſs-bows, ſome dancing with ladies, ſome on horſe-back with compleat armour, juſting with long, and ſharp ſpears, and many other ſtrange devices, which I cannot deſcribe. Amongſt all I noted, there was a cheſs board, made of ſpice-plate, with men of the ſame, and of good proportion. And becauſe the Frenchmen are very expert at that ſport, my lord cardinal gave that ſame to a French gentleman, commanding that there ſhould be made a good caſe to convey the ſame into his country.

"Then the cardinal called for a great gold cup filled with wine; and pulling off his cap, ſaid, 'I drink 'a health to the king my ſovereign, and next unto 'the king your maſter.' And when he had taken a hearty draught, he deſired the principal ambaſſador to pledge him. And ſo all the lords pledged the health in order. Thus was the night ſpent in great harmony and good humour, till many of the company were obliged to be led to their beds; and the next day having ſtayed to dine with the cardinal, the ambaſſadors departed towards Windſor, where they were treated, before their going into their own country, in a manner ſtill more magnificent, by the king."

But nothing more plainly ſhews the good terms on which Wolſey ſtood with his maſter, after his laſt return from France, than the frequent viſits Henry paid him at his palace at Hampton-court; which in the year 1528 was completely finiſhed, and elegantly furniſhed. His majeſty was greatly taken both with the ſituation and beauty of the edifice: upon this Wolſey very generouſly made him a preſent of it; and the king, highly pleaſed with the gift, gave him in return his royal palace of Richmond.

Thus we have conducted Wolſey from his birth to the utmoſt ſummit of his fortune: we muſt now follow him again down the hill, in which, as it generally happens,

happens, his progreſs was much more rapid than in going up, even expeditious as was his aſcent.

"Queen Catherine's years adding to her temper, which was naturally grave, made her now become more diſtaſteful than ever to king Henry; his paſſion for Anne Boleyn too, who, finding the love he had for her, managed her attractions with the utmoſt art of coquetry, was greatly augmented; ſo that fluctuating between the thoughts of a miſtreſs and a wife, Henry was ſo entangled, that rather than be diſappointed of the one, he reſolved to rid himſelf of the other." Cardinal Wolſey ſaw it was in vain to put this notion out of his head; not caring therefore to engage too far in ſo weighty a buſineſs alone, he with the king's permiſſion, by his own legantine authority, iſſued writs to ſummon all the biſhops, with the moſt learned men of both univerſities, to conſult on his majeſty's caſe. But theſe counſellors thinking the point too nice for them to determine, in the end, the pope was applied to, who, in compliance with the king's requeſt, ſent cardinal Campeggio into England, that he might, in conjunction with Wolſey, ſit in judgment, and decide whether Henry's marriage with Catherine was lawful or not. But, firſt, the king called an aſſembly of all the great men in the kingdom, both ſpiritual and temporal, beſides others of inferior degree, and made them a ſpeech, in which he endeavoured to account for and excuſe the proceedings he was going upon, laying the greateſt ſtreſs upon conſcience, and the dreadful horrors of mind he had ſuffered ever ſince the French ambaſſadors had queſtioned the lady Mary's legitimacy, which made him fear that a marriage with his brother's relict was by divine law prohibited. However, he ſaid, he ſubmitted every thing to the wiſdom of the pope's legates, who were authorized by his holineſs to determine this important cauſe; and the meaſures he was already determined to take being thus artfully pre-

pared, the legantine court was opened on the 21ſt of June following.

But the circumſtances of this famous trial are well known. The queen being a woman of reſolute mind, proteſted againſt the legates, as incompetent judges; ſhe appealed to the king for her conjugal fidelity; went out of court, and would never return to it more. The legates went on according to the forms of law, though the queen appealed from them to the pope, and excepted both to the place, to the judges, and to her lawyers. The king would not ſuffer the cauſe to be removed to Rome, and Campeggio left England. But theſe incidents happened in a regular ſeries; and many attempts were made to bring the queen to an eaſy compliance with his majeſty's pleaſure, though in vain. Hence it followed, that the public was divided; ſome pitied Henry, but more had compaſſion for Catherine: and as Wolſey had now brought himſelf, by his pride, into univerſal odium with the people, while the abettors of the divorce charged all the difficulties laid in its way to his artifice, the partizans on the other ſide were as unanimous in condemning him, for prompting his maſter to ſo iniquitous a piece of violence. But of this laſt charge the cardinal fully cleared himſelf, by calling on king Henry, in open court, to witneſs to his innocence; when the king declared, he had always adviſed him againſt it, which indeed he might do with a ſafe conſcience; and for that reaſon he was jealous of Wolſey's being a ſecret agent in the protraction of the cauſe; for which he conſigned him to deſtruction.

Indeed, it was apparent, on the breaking up of the court, that, Wolſey had nothing favourable to expect from that quarter; for the duke of Suffolk, by the king's direction, coming towards the bench where Wolſey and Campeggio ſat, ſaid, with a haughty tone and furious countenance, "It was never thus in England till we had cardinals among us." To which cardinal Wolſey ſoberly replied; "Sir, of all men in this realm,

realm, you have the leaſt cauſe to diſpraiſe cardinals; for if I, poor cardinal, had not been, you ſhould not at this preſent have had a head upon your ſhoulders;" alluding to the duke's marriage with the king's ſiſter, which at firſt greatly incenſed Henry.

On the removal of his cauſe to Rome, the king was not only enraged, but afflicted: and Hall, Stow, Rapin, and Burnet, affirm, that he reſolved on a progreſs into the country, thereby to diſpel his melancholy. For that end he ſet out, attended by his royal retinue; and coming to Grafton in Northamptonſhire, he was there attended by Wolſey and Campeggio, the latter of whom came to take his leave before he returned into Italy. This was on a Sunday; and there were many wagers laid among the courtiers, that the king would not ſpeak to cardinal Wolſey. But here his foes were diſappointed; the king not only ſpoke to him, but received him with a ſmiling countenance: and having talked to him ſome time aſide at the window, he ſaid, "Go to your dinner, and take my lord cardinal to keep you company, and after dinner I will talk with you farther." With which words Henry retired to dine with Anne Boleyn, who was with him in his progreſs; and the cardinals ſat down at a table prepared in the preſence-chamber for them, and other lords. There is ſomething curious in the account which Cavendiſh gives us, from one of the perſons, who waited at table, of the king and his miſtreſs's diſcourſe at dinner. It referred to Wolſey; and Anne Boleyn being as angry as ſhe durſt at the king's gracious behaviour to him, ſhe ſaid, "Sir, is it not a marvellous thing, to ſee into what great debt and danger he hath brought you with all your ſubjects?" How ſo? replied the king. "Forſooth, ſaid ſhe, there is not a man in all your whole realm of England to whom he hath not indebted you." Which words ſhe ſpoke, becauſe the king had formerly, through the cardinal's advice, raiſed money on the people by way of loan, which had been a very unpopular

unpopular meaſure; but the king exculpated his miniſter, by ſaying, "Well, well, for that matter there was no blame in him; for I know it better than you, or any elſe." "Nay, but (cried the lady) beſides that, what exploits hath he wrought in ſeveral parts of this realm! There is never a nobleman, but, if he had done as much as he hath done, were well worthy to loſe his head; nay, if my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, or my father, had done much leſs, they ſhould have loſt their heads ere this." "Then I perceive (ſaid the king) you are none of my lord cardinal's friends." "Why, Sir, (anſwered ſhe) I have no cauſe, nor any that love you; no more hath your grace, if you did well conſider his indirect and unlawful doings." During this converſation in the king's chamber, the cardinal was not treated with much leſs aſperity by the duke of Norfolk without; ſo that every hand appeared ready to pull down a falling favourite, though the king conſulted with him four hours that ſame evening, which vexed many; but, at night, when the cardinal's ſervants came to prepare a lodging for him, they were told there was no room: ſo that his eminency was obliged to lie at the houſe of one Mr Empſton, at ſome diſtance in the country; and in the morning, when he came to court (though he had his majeſty's command to attend him over night) he found the king juſt ready to mount his horſe, who, without taking any farther notice, coldly ordered him to conſult with the lords of the council. This was contrived by Anne Boleyn, who rode out with the king; and, in order to prevent his majeſty's return before the cardinal went away, ſhe took care to provide an entertainment for him at Hanwell-park.

The king had no ſooner left Wolſey in this abrupt manner, than the cardinal ſaw his proſperity was at an end; but he was too wiſe to expoſe himſelf to the raillery of the courtiers, by appearing humble or terrified at his approaching diſgrace. Immediately after dinner

dinner he ſet out with his colleague for London, from whence, in a few days, Campeggio took his journey to Rome. But a report prevailing, that in his baggage he had concealed, and was carrying off, a conſiderable treaſure belonging to cardinal Wolſey, the cuſtom-houſe officers, by the king's order, ſtopt him at Dover, and made ſo thorough a ſearch, that the legate complained of the inſult offered to his character, though to no other purpoſe than to receive a rebuke from the king, for daring to aſſume any character in his dominions, without his particular licence; ſo that the Italian prelate was glad to get off unmoleſted at any rate. As for Wolſey, though he had the king's commiſſion for acting as legate in England, that was afterwards brought againſt him, among a number of other crimes, very little better founded; and ſuch was the king's eagerneſs to begin with him, that he had ſcarcely patience to wait till Campeggio ſet ſail.

It was now term-time, and Wolſey, on the firſt day, went to the court of chancery, in his uſual ſtate, but after that never ſat there more. On the 18th of October 1529, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk came to his houſe at Weſtminſter, and in the king's name demanded the great ſeal: at the ſame time letting him know, that he ſhould immediately depart to his ſeat at Eſher. However, he told their lordſhips, that he held the place of chancellor by patent for life; and that, as he had received the ſeal from his majeſty's own hands, into thoſe alone he would deliver it. The noblemen were extremely offended at this refuſal, but the chancellor was poſitive: but, the dukes coming again the next day, with a peremptory command to the cardinal, to obey his majeſty without the leaſt demur, he at laſt conſented; though not without ſome tart reflections on the conduct of the two dukes, who, with good grounds, were ſuſpected to have the chief hand in his ruin.

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The fatal buſineſs being thus commenced, the cardinal proceeded with great coolneſs and ſubmiſſion. He called all his officers before him, and had an immediate inventory taken of every thing he was worth; and the ſeveral moveables being brought out and ſet in a great gallery and the chamber adjoining, he left them all for the king. Indeed his treaſury reſembled that of an eaſtern monarch, rather than an European ſubject; for, in the firſt place, there were ſet in the gallery ſeveral tables, on which were piled an infinite variety of rich ſtuffs, with cloths and ſilks of all colours and manufactures; there were a thouſand pieces of Holland; and all the hangings of his great rooms were gold and ſilver arras; with the moſt magnificent robes and coats that he had bought for the uſe of his two colleges at Oxford and Ipſwich. But theſe were trifles to what were to be ſeen in his chambers: there were ſet very large tables, wholly covered with plate, a great part of which was ſolid gold, all the reſt of his goods and furniture bearing an equal proportion; ſo that it is not improbable that his known opulence was no ſmall inducement to the perſecution againſt him. All things thus ſettled, he prepared to withdraw to Eſher; but juſt as he was going, Sir William Gaſcoigne, his treaſurer, came up, and told him, it was rumoured abroad, that he was to go directly to the Tower: to which the cardinal replied, with ſome diſſatisfaction at Sir William's credulity, and unkindneſs, in telling him every light ſtory; "that he had done nothing to deſerve impriſonment, but, having received all he poſſeſſed of the king, it was but reaſonable that he ſhould return it to him again."

He then took boat, having with him moſt of his ſervants, with ſome furniture and proviſions, and directed his courſe towards Putney. Upon this occaſion, the Thames was crowded with ſpectators on both ſides, and a vaſt number of boats appeared on the river, in hopes of ſeeing the cardinal carried to the Tower;

Tower; and it is almoſt incredible to tell what joy the common people expreſſed on that occaſion, who in proſperity followed him with applauſe and bleſſings. Being landed at Putney, he immediately mounted his mule, his ſervants and attendants being on horſe-back; but he was ſcarcely got to the foot of the hill, on the other ſide of the town, when he was overtaken by Sir John Norris, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, who diſmounted his horſe, and ſaluting his eminence in his majeſty's name, told him "he was ſent expreſs to aſſure him, that he was as much in the king's favour as ever: and that his diſgrace was only to ſerve a turn, and pleaſe ſome ſort of people; bidding him be of good courage, for, as his majeſty was able, ſo he was willing, to make up all his loſſes." The cardinal, being ſurpriſed at this joyful news, directly got off his mule, and falling upon his knees in the dirty highway, he betrayed an extravagance of tranſport, at the appearance of returning to favour, quite unbecoming a man. He pulled off his hat, praiſed the king's goodneſs, and embraced Sir John Norris over and over; after which, being again mounted, and riding towards Eſher, as they converſed on the way, Norris pulled out a gold ring, ſet with a very rich ſtone, which he preſented to the cardinal in the king's name, in token of his recovered friendſhip; and Wolſey, in return, taking a gold croſs from about his neck, in which a piece of the Holy Croſs (as it was ſaid) was incloſed, beſtowed it on Sir John, as a perpetual remembrance of his ſervice. Then, bethinking himſelf of what would be acceptable to the king, he ſent him his fool, Patch, whom ſix of his talleſt yeomen were ſcarcely able to conduct, ſo great a reluctance had he to part with his old maſter: but with this preſent the king appeared very much pleaſed.

But after all theſe great promiſes from the king, it appears that nothing was meant by them; for the cardinal no ſooner reached his retreat, than he was intirely

tirely neglected, being ſuffered to continue there three weeks, without either beds, table-clothes, or diſhes to eat his meat upon; neither had he money to buy any; ſo that he muſt infallibly have periſhed, had it not been for the ſupplies the country people ſent to him. In theſe ſad circumſtances his ſecretary one day told him, that he ought in conſcience to conſider him and his other ſervants, who had never forſook him in weal or woe. "Alas! Thomas," ſaid the cardinal, "you know I have nothing to give you nor them; which makes me both aſhamed and ſorry." After which, by his ſecretary's advice, borrowing ſome money of his chaplains, many of whom he had preferred to great benefices, he had all his ſervants called up before him, and beheld them for ſome time with great tenderneſs, whilſt his ſilence, and the tears that ran down his cheeks, teſtified his inward affliction. At length, perceiving his ſervants alſo weep very plentifully, he made them a moſt moving ſpeech; in which he lamented that he had not done ſo much for them, in his proſperity, as he might have done; though he excuſed himſelf by the great promptneſs there might be, in people to ſay, there was no office would eſcape the rapacity of the cardinal. He then deplored his preſent ſituation, which had left him nothing but the bare cloaths upon his back, ſo that he was without any means of acknowledging their ſervices: however, he thanked them all heartily, and, giving them their wages and his bleſſing, told them they had better provide for themſelves. After this, moſt of his ſervants left him, except Cavendiſh, who ſtayed about his perſon; and Cromwell, who went to London, to take care of his affairs there.

It was now that the cardinal began to find out, in ſpite of ſpecious pretences, how little, in reality, the king was his friend; for, from the rigorous proceedings commenced againſt him at law, it was apparent, that his majeſty reſolved to have him at his mercy, upon

upon the ſtatute of premunire, though it appeared to every one, that to let this law looſe upon him would be the greateſt injuſtice, in as much as he was authorized by the king to execute his legantine commiſſion: yet, at the importunity of ſeveral lords of the council, he declined pleading to the information exhibited againſt him, and threw himſelf entirely on the king's mercy, who, he ſaid, "had a conſcience to judge and underſtand how far he merited puniſhment for the matter alledged againſt him;" then judgment was ſigned. However, he received aſſurances from Henry, that he would not proceed to the utmoſt rigour of the law, and, ſoon after, he had part of his goods given to him, and obtained a protection from the king; but ſtill diligent enquiry was making after all his eſtates and effects, and whenever any of them were found they were immediately confiſcated to his majeſty's uſe.

It ſeems a hard matter to reconcile the different parts of Henry's behaviour in diſcarding his miniſter. He found he was no longer his creature, perhaps, and therefore he ceaſed to be his favourite? and yet he ſeems to have been aſhamed of the part he was acting againſt a man whom he once ſo highly favoured, by letting him down with a ſeeming reluctance, and qualifying every ſtep he fell with ſome act of pretended tenderneſs and compaſſion. Thus in the parliament which was called on the third of November, after Wolſey's diſgrace, when the lords exhibited four and forty articles of impeachment againſt him, and the bill (through the management of the cardinal's ſecretary) was rejected in the lower houſe; the king expreſſed great ſatisfaction at it; and indeed all the articles were built on ſo weak, and many of them upon ſo unjuſt, a foundation, that lord Herbert ſays, no miniſter was ever diſplaced with leſs to alledge againſt him. In ſome of theſe articles, it was made a capital offence to have done ſeveral things which he did by the king's expreſs

command, and under his licence; while others carried an air of ridiculouſneſs and abſurdity: and even thoſe which bore the beſt face contained, at the utmoſt, but trifles, and errors rather than crimes. But though this ill-ſupported charge fell to the ground; nay, though the king, in one of his relenting fits, granted him the moſt ample pardon for all crimes which he might be ſuppoſed to have committed againſt the crown that ever king granted to a ſubject, the cardinal's ill fortune ſtill continued to purſue him with accumulated rage; nor would his hard-hearted maſter be ſatisfied, while he had any thing left, that it was poſſible to wring from him.

Henry inſiſted upon his ſigning a reſignation of York-houſe, and he was obliged to do it. He alſo forced him to make over, by deed of gift, the revenues of the biſhopric of Wincheſter, and, after all, would not ſo much as pay his debts, nor allow him ſufficient to ſubſiſt upon; ſo that, with one vexation or other, Wolſey was at laſt quite haraſſed out, and fell dangerouſly ill of a violent fever. But the cardinal's indiſpoſition was no ſooner mentioned at court, than the king expreſſed the greateſt concern and uneaſineſs. He declared he would not loſe him for twenty thouſand pounds; ordered one of his own phyſicians to attend him; and, being told that nothing was ſo likely to promote a recovery as ſome mark of favour from the royal hand, he not only ſent him a ring with his own picture in it, from himſelf, but made Anne Boleyn take the gold etwee from her ſide, and with many obliging expreſſions, entreated the cardinal's acceptance of it, as a token of her eſteem and affection. Yet Wolſey was no ſooner up again, than the proſpect grew as gloomy as ever: the king diſſolved both his colleges, though in the humbleſt and moſt earneſt manner he beſought him to ſpare them: and the cardinal having, in his proſperity, at a great expence, built himſelf a tomb, which was not finiſhed at the time of

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his fall, his majeſty ſeized that alſo; nor would he be prevailed on to reſtore it, though his old favourite begged it of him in the moving term of a burying place, which, "on account of his great heavineſs, he ſaid, he was ſoon likely to want." However, the king was not ſo inflexible to all his requeſts; for the cardinal repreſenting about this time, that the air of Eſher was very prejudicial to his conſtitution, he was immediately permitted to remove to Richmond, and a ſum of money was iſſued from the treaſury, to make his circumſtances a little more eaſy.

His removal to Richmond made his enemies very uneaſy. They diſliked ſuch a proximity to the court, and were in continual fear, leſt Henry ſhould relapſe into his former attachment, and, one time or other, call his diſcarded miniſter again into favour. In theſe thoughts, they determined to move him to a greater diſtance; and conſidering his province in the North as the propereſt place for his future reſidence, they found no great difficulty in procuring an order from Henry for his immediately repairing thither. The poor cardinal would fain have retired no farther than Wincheſter, but no place but Yorkſhire would do; and on his being a little tardy to ſet out, on account of money which he waited for, and becauſe there was no exact time fixed for his journey, the duke of Norfolk one day meeting his ſecretary Cromwell, ſaid to him, "Go, tell thy maſter, that unleſs he quickly removes towards the North, I will tear him to pieces with my teeth;" which being repeated to the cardinal, "Then," cried he "it is time for me to be going;" and accordingly he left Richmond in a few days after, taking the road for his archiepiſcopal ſeat at Cawood.

No ſooner was he arrived and ſettled in this place, than he gave himſelf up entirely to devotion and his paſtoral charge, daily diſtributing to the poor, and keeping an hoſpitable table for all comers. His cuſtom was, to viſit all the little pariſh-churches round

about, in which one of his chaplains generally preached; and ſometimes he condeſcended to dine at an honeſt farmer's houſe, where he was conſtantly ſurrounded with a great number of indigent people, whom he converſed with, and relieved. Finding his palace alſo very much out of repair, he at one time engaged above three hundred workmen and labourers in fitting it up: but ſuch was the malignity of his enemies at court, that they interpreted this to his diſadvantage, Cromwell writing to him in one of his letters from London, "Some there be that do alledge your grace keeps too great a houſe and family, and that you are continually building: for the love of God, therefore, have reſpect, and refrain."

In conſequence of this admonition, the cardinal began to contract his manner of living: but his enemies, who were reſolved on his deſtruction, ſoon found ſomething elſe to lay hold of in the great preparations which, contrary to his warmeſt intreaties, and in ſome meaſure without his knowledge, the dean and chapter of his cathedral church were making for his ſolemn inſtallation; inſomuch, that for a week before the day fixed for that ceremony, people from all parts of the kingdom crowded out of curioſity to the city of York.

But now an accident happened, which ſhewed, that this great man was the ſlave of ſuperſtition. "On All Saints day, the cardinal being at dinner with his chaplains, doctor Auguſtine, a phyſician, cloathed with a very heavy velvet gown, in riſing up puſhed againſt the cardinal's ſilver croſs, placed at the corner of the table, which fell ſo heavy upon the head of doctor Bonner, that the blood came trickling down. Upon this the cardinal immediately retired to his chamber, and ſhaking his head, ſaid "Malum omen;" which he afterwards interpreted to Cavendiſh upon his death-bed, telling him, that "the croſs repreſented his perſon; doctor Auguſtine who threw it down, his enemy,

my, and an informer; and the chaplain being wounded imported, that his power was at an end, and death would quickly enſue." But when the earl of Northumberland and Sir Walter Walſh arrived at Cawood to arreſt the cardinal, his words were conſidered by weak men as a prophecy, though in fact they amounted to no more than the well-grounded apprehenſions of a fallen ſtateſman. The earl and Sir Walter were attended by a body of horſe, which plainly beſpoke their commiſſion.

Alighting at the cardinal's gate, they went immediately into the hall, and demanded the keys from the porter: but the man, aſtoniſhed at this requeſt, refuſed to deliver them without his maſter's order. To prevent any farther diſturbance, therefore, they contented themſelves with taking an oath from him, "That no perſon ſhould go out or come in till he received farther orders." The cardinal all this while remained ignorant of what paſſed below, care being taken that no one ſhould go up to inform him: however, at laſt, one of his ſervants found means to ſlip by, and told his eminency that the earl of Northumberland was in the hall. Wolſey, being then at dinner, took this for a friendly viſit from his old pupil, and immediately roſe from table, and went down the ſtairs to meet the earl. He expreſſed his concern that he had not given him notice of the viſit, that he might have given him a better reception; and, taking him by the hand led him to his apartment, the earl's gentlemen following, where taking the cardinal aſide to a window, while they were in converſation, Northumberland ſaid, "My lord, I arreſt you for high treaſon." Upon this the cardinal demanded to ſee his authority; but the earl refuſing to ſhew his commiſſion, Wolſey replied, "I will not then ſubmit to your arreſt." However, Sir Walter Walſh coming up during the debate, whom the cardinal knew, and repeat-

ing what the earl had before ſaid, he very readily ſurrendered himſelf.

Being now in cuſtody, Saturday was ſpent in packing up ſome of his effects, and preparing for his journey; but, as ſoon as the country people were informed of what the earl and Walſh had been doing, they ſurrounded the palace, expreſſed the deepeſt concern, for he had always been the protector and friend of the poor; which gave Northumberland and the knight no little uneaſineſs.

On Sunday, the firſt of November, early in the morning, he proceeded on his journey towards London. As ſoon as he came out of his gate, the people with great lamentation expreſſed their concern and followed him for ſeveral miles, till the cardinal deſired them to depart, and be patient; for that he feared not his enemies, but entirely ſubmitted to the will of Heaven. The firſt night he lodged at Pomfret Abbey; the next night, with the Black Friars at Doncaſter; and the night following, at Sheffield Park, where he remained eighteen days. Here he was kindly entertained by the earl of Shrewſbury, and had a great reſpect ſhewn him by the neighbouring gentlemen, who flocked in to viſit him. But being one day at dinner, he was taken very ill with a ſudden coldneſs at his ſtomach; which apprehending to be an oppreſſion occaſioned by wind, he immediately ſent to an apothecary for ſome medicine to expel it, and this gave him eaſe for the preſent. But if he was not then poiſoned, as ſome people imagined, either by himſelf or others, it appears that this diſorder, from whatever it originated, was the cauſe of his death; for he was in ſo languiſhing a condition when Sir William Kingſton, the lieutenant of the Tower, came to the earl of Shrewſbury's, to take him into cuſtody, and attend him to London, that he was hardly able to walk acroſs the chamber. This circumſtance too of being put into the hands of the lieutenant of the Tower gave a great ſhock to his weakened frame;

frame; for when the earl of Shrewſbury ordered Cavendiſh to tell him of Kingſton's arrival in the tendereſt manner, that he might take it quietly, and without apprehenſion, the cardinal clapped his hands on his thigh, and gave a great ſigh, ſaying, "I now ſee what is preparing for me." Which expreſſion ſeems to deſtroy the idea of his having poiſoned himſelf; as it imported a dread of public execution. However, ill and weak as he was, he left the earl of Shrewſbury's the following morning, and by gentle progreſs reached another ſeat of his lordſhip's that night.

Thus he continued three days making ſhort journies, by ſlow progreſs, till on the third at night he arrived at Leiceſter Abbey. Here the abbot and the whole convent came out to meet him, receiving him in the court with great reverence and reſpect; but the cardinal only ſaid, "Father Abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you;" and riding ſtill on his mule, till he came to the ſtairs of his chamber, he with much difficulty was helped up and put to bed.

This was on Saturday, the 25th of November, and on the Monday following his illneſs was ſo far increaſed, that it was the general opinion of all his attendants he could not live long. On Tueſday morning early, Sir William Kingſton went into his room, and aſked him how he had reſted. The cardinal devoutly anſwered, "I only wait the pleaſure of Heaven to render my poor ſoul into the hands of my Creator." After this, being about the ſpace of an hour at confeſſion, Kingſton came to him a ſecond time; and then Wolſey, finding his diſſolution very nigh, "I pray you (ſaid he) have me heartily recommended to his royal majeſty, and beſeech him on my behalf to call to his remembrance all matters that have paſſed between us from the beginning, eſpecially with regard to his buſineſs with the queen; and then will he know in his conſcience, whether I have offended him. He is a prince of a moſt royal carriage, and hath a princely heart;

heart; and, rather than he will miſs or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom. I do aſſure you, that I have often kneeled before him, ſometimes three hours together, to perſuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail. Had I but ſerved God as diligently as I have ſerved the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs: but this is the juſt reward that I muſt receive for my indulgent pains and ſtudy, not regarding my ſervice to God, but only to my prince. Therefore, let me adviſe you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wiſdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head; for you can never put it out again." Adding, after a very ſevere warning againſt the Lutherans, "Mr Kingſton, farewel; I wiſh all things may have good ſucceſs; my time draweth on faſt." Having uttered theſe words, his ſpeech failed him; and he died about eight o'clock, the guards being called in to ſee him expire. Such was the end, on the 29th of November, 1530, of this famous prelate and ſtateſman. After his death he was laid in an oaken coffin, with his face uncovered, that every one might be permitted to view him; and early in the morning on St Andrew's day, he was buried in the middle of one of the Abbey chapels.

The cardinal was, as to his perſon, tall and comely, and very graceful in his air and manner; but he had a blemiſh in one of his eyes, with a view to hide which defect, he was always painted in profile.

In his miniſterial character he diſplayed eminent abilities; and it is certain, that during his adminiſtration he rendered England formidable to all the powers of Europe. But it is as evident, that in his foreign negotiations he was often influenced by his own private views.

It has been urged, as a ſtrong preſumption in Wolſey's favour, that the latter part of Henry's reign was more

more criminal than that in which he governed: "but it may be doubted, ſays Lord Herbert, whether the impreſſions he gave did not occaſion divers irregularities which were obſerved to follow: for he had made it a rule to ſubmit implicitly to the king's pleaſure, and had taught him that pernicious doctrine, that no law had the force to curb his prerogative, which increaſed Henry's arbitrary diſpoſition."

In proſperity, Wolſey was proud, arrogant, and haughty; in adverſity, mean, abject, and cowardly. His vices were of that caſt which moſt diſgrace the ſacred character of a prelate. At the ſame time his virtues were of the public kind; for he greatly promoted and encouraged literature; he patronized and cultivated the polite and uſeful arts; and he was, in general, a liberal friend to the poor.

Upon the whole, he was a very great, but far from a good man.

*** *Authorities.* Life of Wolſey by Sir William Cavendiſh, his gentleman uſher; Britiſh Biography, Vol. II. Fiddes's life of Wolſey. Lord Herbert's life of Henry VIII. Rapin's and Humes' hiſtories of England.

THE LIFE OF

SIR THOMAS MORE.

[A. D. 1480, to 1535.]

THOSE authors, who are fond of recording wonders, tell us, that the birth of this great man was preceded by ſeveral ſtrange dreams which his mother had during her pregnancy, portending his future fortune; but, without paying any regard to the legends of

of ſuperſtition, it may be affirmed, that his childhood afforded the moſt lively hopes of what his maturer years accompliſhed. Of this we have a teſtimony in the behaviour of cardinal Morton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and lord Chancellor of England; for young Thomas More, being, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, put into his family for education, his grace would often ſay to the nobility who dined with him; "This boy who waits at the table, whoſoever lives to ſee it, will prove a marvellous man." But not to dwell too long upon trifles: according to the beſt accounts, this excellent man was born in the year 1480, in Milk ſtreet, London; his father, Sir John More, being then a gentleman of eſtabliſhed reputation in the law, in which profeſſion he afterwards brought up his ſon. He ſent him to Oxford in 1497, where he remained two years, and then removed to New-Inn, London; and it appears that Mr More, on his firſt entrance on buſineſs, acquired great reputation at the bar; though, taking an early diſtaſte to that way of life, he ſuddenly retired to the Charter-houſe, where giving himſelf up entirely to devotion, he remained ſecluded from the world no leſs than four years.

At this time, he had a ſtrong inclination, not only to take orders, but the vow of a Franciſcan; but his father perſiſting in his deſign of making him a lawyer, his filial ſubmiſſion overcame his inclination to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Another motive might be his gay and lively temper, and an amorous inclination, hardly to be ſubdued by the auſterities he practiſed; on which account dean Colet, his intimate friend and confeſſor, adviſed him to marry; and accordingly he accepted an invitation from Mr Colt, of Newhall, to reſide ſome time at his houſe. This gentleman had three daughters, and, in the courſe of his viſit, Mr More took a liking to the ſecond; but it is remarkable, that on being urged by the father to make choice of one of them for a wife, he eſpouſed the eldeſt, merely for being

being ſuch, that it might be no vexation or diſgrace to her to be paſſed by. Upon his marriage with this lady, who lived with him about ſeven years, he took a houſe in Bucklerſbury, and began once again to practiſe the law. But what greatly contributed to raiſe his reputation was this: Mr More was not full two and twenty years of age, when being elected member of the parliament, called by Henry VII. in 1503, to demand a ſubſidy, and nine fifteenths, for the marriage of his eldeſt daughter, he had an immediate opportunity of diſplaying his talents in the houſe. The majority were againſt this demand; but many of the members, being afraid of the king's diſpleaſure, made no oppoſition: upon which our young lawyer got up, and argued with ſuch ſtrength and clearneſs againſt ſo arbitrary an impoſition, that his majeſty's demand was, in the end, rejected. Mr Tyler, one of the privy-council, who was preſent when the ſpeech was made, went immediately to the king, and told him, that a beardleſs boy had diſappointed all his purpoſe. A prince, tyrannical and avaricious like Henry, could not fail to be much incenſed; and we are not to wonder that he ſhould be determined to be revenged on the perſon who had preſumed to oppoſe the favourite meaſure of his reign, that of getting money. However, as our patriot had only performed his duty, for which the king could not call him to account, he meanly revenged himſelf on Sir John, his father, whom he ordered to be impriſoned in the Tower till he had paid a fine of an hundred pounds. But young More, having received information from his friend Mr Whitford, chaplain to Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, that the court were laying ſnares to enſnare him in his practice as a lawyer, thought it prudent to decline the profeſſion, and lived retired till the king's death.

This retirement, however, was of no real diſadvantage to him, as he employed his time in improving himſelf in hiſtory, mathematics, and the belles lettres;

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ſo that when he emerged again from obſcurity, ſcarcely any cauſe of importance was tried, in which both parties did not attempt to retain him; but he never would defend a bad cauſe, for any fee whatever. His firſt preferment was in the city, being made judge of the Sheriff's court in 1510; and before he was actually engaged in the government ſervice, he was twice appointed, by the conſent of Henry VIII. at the ſuit of the Engliſh merchants, their agent, in ſome cauſes between them and the foreign merchants of the Steelyard, in which he acquitted himſelf with ſuch diſtinguiſhed honour, that cardinal Wolſey was very ſolicitous to engage More in his majeſty's ſervice. But he was ſo averſe to change the condition of an independent man, for that of a courtier, that the miniſter could not prevail; and the king, for the preſent, was pleaſed to admit of his excuſes. It happened, however, ſome time after, that a great ſhip of the pope's arriving at Southampton, the king claimed it as a forfeiture, upon which the legate demanded a trial, with council for his holineſs, learned in the laws of the kingdom; and, as his majeſty was himſelf a great civilian, he alſo deſired it might be heard in ſome public place, in the royal preſence. Henry acceded to all this, and Mr More was choſen council on the ſide of the pope; whoſe cauſe he pleaded with ſo much learning and ſucceſs, that the forfeiture which the crown claimed was immediately reſtored, and the conduct of the lawyer univerſally admired and applauded. Indeed, it brought ſo great an addition to his fame, that the king would no longer be induced by any intreaty to diſpenſe with his ſervice, and having no better place at that time vacant, he made him maſter of the requeſts; conferred on him the honour of knighthood ſoon after; appointed him one of his privy-council; and admitted him to the greateſt perſonal familiarity.

It was a cuſtom with the king, ſays the author of the Britiſh Antiquities, after he had performed his devotions

vations upon holydays, to ſend for Sir Thomas More into his cloſet, and there confer with him about aſtronomy, geometry, divinity, and other parts of learning, as well as affairs of ſtate. Upon other occaſions the king would carry him in the night upon the leads, at the top of the palace, to be inſtructed in the variety, courſe, and motions of the heavenly bodies. But this was not the only uſe the king made of his new ſervant. He ſoon found, that he was a man of a chearful diſpoſition, and had a great fund of wit and humour: and, therefore, his majeſty would frequently order him to be ſent for, to make him and the queen merry at ſupper. When Sir Thomas perceived that they were ſo much entertained with his converſation, that he could not once in a month get leave to ſpend an evening with his wife and children, whom he loved, nor be abſent from court two days together, without being ſent for by the king, he grew very uneaſy at this reſtraint of his liberty; and ſo beginning, by little and little, to diſuſe himſelf from his former mirth, and ſomewhat to diſſemble his natural temper, he was not ſo ordinarily called for upon theſe occaſions of merriment. The treaſurer of the Exchequer dying in 1520, the king, without any ſolicitation, conferred this office on Sir Thomas More; and within three years after, a parliament being ſummoned, in order to raiſe money for a war with France, he was elected ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons.

During the ſeſſions, cardinal Wolſey was much offended with the members of the Houſe of Commons, becauſe nothing was ſaid or done there, but immediately it was blown abroad, in every ale-houſe: on the other hand, the members had an undoubted right, as they thought, to repeat to their friends without doors what had paſſed within. It happened, however, that a conſiderable ſubſidy having been demanded by the king, which Wolſey apprehended would meet with great oppoſition in the lower houſe, he was determined

to be preſent when the motion ſhould be made, in order to prevent its being rejected. The houſe being appriſed of his reſolution, it was a great while under debate, whether it was beſt to receive him with a few of his lords only, or with his whole train. The major part of the houſe inclined to the firſt: upon which the ſpeaker got up, and ſaid, "Gentlemen, foraſmuch as my lord cardinal hath, not long ſince, laid to our charge the lightneſs of our tongues, it ſhall not, in my judgment, be amiſs to receive him with all his people; that ſo, if he blame us hereafter for things ſpoken out of the houſe, we may lay it upon thoſe that his grace ſhall bring with him." The humour of the ſpeaker's motion being approved, the cardinal was received accordingly. But having ſhewn, in a ſolemn ſpeech, how neceſſary it was for the king's affairs, that the ſubſidies moved for ſhould be granted, and finding that no member made any anſwer, nor ſhewed the leaſt inclination to comply with what he aſked, he quite loſt his temper; and with great indignation ſaid, "Gentlemen, unleſs it be the manner of your houſe, to expreſs your minds in ſuch caſes by your ſpeaker, here is, without doubt, a ſurpriſing obſtinate ſilence." He then required the ſpeaker to give him an anſwer to the demand which he had made in the king's name. Upon which Sir Thomas, with great reverence, excuſed their ſilence, as being abaſhed at the preſence of ſo exalted a perſonage. He then proceeded to ſhew, "that it was not agreeable to the ancient liberty of the houſe, to make an anſwer to his majeſty's meſſages by any other perſon, how great ſoever, than ſome of their own members;" and in the concluſion, he told his eminence, "That though, as ſpeaker, he was the voice of the commons; yet except every one of them could put their ſeveral judgments in his head, he alone, in ſo weighty a matter, was not able to make a ſufficient anſwer." The cardinal taking offence at the ſpeaker for this evaſive reply, ſuddenly roſe up and departed;

parted: perhaps his diſpleaſure was greater, becauſe he knew that Sir Thomas More had ſeconded the motion when it was firſt made: but though that ſpirited patriot thought the ſubſidy abſolutely neceſſary for carrying on the war, he made a diſtinction between the reaſonable demands of the king, and the inſolence of his miniſter; and therefore played off this farce againſt him.

In conſequence of this, however, being a few days after in Wolſey's gallery at Whitehall, his eminence complained vehemently of the ill treatment he gave him; and reproaching him for his ingratitude, ſaid, "Would to God you had been at Rome when I made you ſpeaker!" To which Sir Thomas replied, "Your grace not offended, ſo would I too, for then I ſhould have ſeen an antient and famous city, which I have long deſired to viſit." And then, to divert him from his ill humour, he began to commend the cardinal's gallery, and ſaid, that he liked it better than his other at Hampton-court. But though he thus put an end to his reproaches, he did not cool his reſentment: for afterwards, when the parliament broke up, Wolſey perſuaded the king to name him ambaſſador to Spain, purely with a view of doing him a diſcourteſy, by ſending him into a country which he knew would be diſagreeable to him. However, when his majeſty mentioned his deſign to Sir Thomas, the knight took the liberty to remonſtrate ſo ſtrongly, yet ſo modeſtly againſt it, on account of the climate, that, with a candour and condeſcenſion not uſual to him, Henry was pleaſed to admit of his arguments; aſſuring him withal, that his meaning was not to hurt, but to do him good; and therefore he would think of ſome other perſon for the embaſſy, and employ him another way. Accordingly upon the death of Sir R. Wingfield, in the year 1528, Sir Thomas More was appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, and at the ſame time admitted into ſuch an high degree of favour with the king, that

his majeſty would ſometimes come, without giving him any notice, to his houſe at Chelſea, in order to enjoy his converſation upon common affairs.

He one day made Sir Thomas an unexpected viſit of this ſort to dinner, and having walked with him in his garden for an hour, with his arm about his neck, it was ſuch a demonſtration of kindneſs and familiarity, that the king being gone, Mr Roper, one of Sir Thomas's ſons-in-law, could not help obſerving to him, "How happy he muſt be, to have his prince diſtinguiſh him in ſo particular a manner." To which Sir Thomas replied, "I thank our Lord, ſon Roper, I find his grace to be my very good maſter indeed, and I believe that he does as much favour me at preſent as any ſubject within this realm; but yet I may tell thee, ſon, I have no cauſe to be proud of it; for if my head would win him a caſtle in France (with which kingdom Henry was then at war) it would not fail to be ſtruck off my ſhoulders."

It was obſerved of Sir Thomas More, that the ignorant and the proud, even in the higheſt ſtation, were thoſe people whom he reſpected the leaſt; but, on the other hand, he was a patron and a friend to every man of letters, and held almoſt a continual correſpondence with all the literati in Europe. Among foreigners, Eraſmus appears to have had the greateſt ſhare in his love and confidence; and after a ſeries of mutual letters, expreſſing their eſteem for each other, that great man made a voyage to England, on purpoſe to enjoy the pleaſure of his converſation.

A ſtory is told of their firſt coming together, which would hardly deſerve to be recorded, if it were not related of two ſuch eminent men. The perſon who conducted Eraſmus to London, it ſeems, had ſo contrived, that Sir Thomas and he ſhould meet, without knowing it, at the lord-mayor's table, in thoſe days open at all times to men of learning and eminence; when a diſpute ariſing at dinner, Eraſmus, in order to

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diſplay his learning, endeavoured to defend the wrong ſide of the queſtion; but he was ſo ſharply oppoſed by Sir Thomas, that finding he had to do with an abler man than he ever before met with, he ſaid, in Latin, with ſome vehemence, "You are either More, or nobody." To which Sir Thomas replied, in the ſame language, with great vivacity, "Your are either Eraſmus, or the devil." Upon this eccliarciſſement, the friends immediately embraced; and afterwards, through the means of Sir Thomas, Eraſmus was much careſſed by the greateſt men in the nation.

It is remarkable, that of all the ſervants and favourites of Henry VIII. he never treated any with ſo much tenderneſs and good-humour, as Sir Thomas More. The anſwer which he made the king on his deſiring his judgment with regard to his marriage with queen Catherine does honour to his memory. Clark and Tonſtal, biſhops of Bath and Durham, with others of the privy-council, having been ordered to conſult with him, "To be plain with your grace," ſaid Sir Thomas, "neither my lord of Durham, nor my lord of Bath, nor myſelf, nor any of your privy-council, being all your ſervants, and greatly indebted to your goodneſs, are in my judgment proper counſellors for your grace upon this point; but, if you pleaſe to underſtand the very truth, you may have ſuch counſellors who, neither for reſpect of their own worldly profit, nor for fear of your princely authority, will deceive you;" and then he named Jerome, Auſtin, and ſeveral other antient fathers, producing the opinions he had collected out of them. Notwithſtanding the king did not approve of what had paſſed, Sir Thomas always uſed ſuch diſcretion in his converſation with his majeſty on this ſubject, that, ſelf-willed as Henry was, he did not take it ill of him, and ſoon after, intending to proceed no farther in his divorce, he appointed Sir Thomas, in 1529, together with Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, his friend, ambaſſadors to negotiate a peace be-

tween the Emperor, Henry, and the King of France. A peace was accordingly concluded at Cambray; and Sir Thomas procured ſo much greater advantages to the kingdom than were thought poſſible, that, for his eminent ſervices, the king, upon the diſgrace of Wolſey, gave Sir Thomas the great ſeal, on the 25th of October, 1529.

Upon his entrance into the office of chancellor, a ſurpriſing change was ſeen by every body: for notwithſtanding Wolſey's great abilities, yet, ſuch was his pride, that he would ſcarcely look upon any of the common rank, and it was difficult to be admitted into his preſence, without bribing his officers and ſervants; whereas a man now preſided in the Court of Chancery, who, the meaner his ſuitors were, the more attentively would he hear the buſineſs, and the more readily diſpatch it. It is ſaid, that one of his ſons-in-law, Mr Dauncy, found fault with him once, between jeſt and earneſt, for this extraordinary condeſcenſion; adding, "You are ſo ready to hear every man, poor as well as rich, that there is no getting any thing under you; whereas, were you otherwiſe, ſome for friendſhip, ſome for kindred, and ſome for profit, would gladly have my intereſt to bring them to you. I know I ſhould do them wrong if I took any thing from them, becauſe they might as readily prefer their ſuits to you themſelves; but this, though I think it very commendable in you, yet to me, who am your ſon, I find it not profitable." "You ſay well, ſon," cried the chancellor, "I am glad you are of a conſcience ſo ſcrupulous, but there are many other ways that I may to good to yourſelf, and pleaſure your friends; and this be aſſured of, upon my faith, that if the parties will call for juſtice at my hands, then, though it were my father, whom I love ſo dearly, ſtood on one ſide, and the devil, whom I hate ſo extremely, ſtood on the other, the cauſe being good, the devil ſhould have it." But as an indubitable proof

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that Sir Thomas More would not deviate from juſtice in the ſmalleſt matter, for any conſideration, the reader may take the following inſtance. Another of his ſons-in-law, Mr Heron, having a cauſe depending, was adviſed to put it into arbitration; but he, preſuming on his father's favour, and not agreeing to this propoſal, the chancellor, upon hearing the cauſe, made a decree directly againſt him. No ſubpœna was iſſued, no order granted, but what he ſaw; and having preſided in the court of chancery about two years, ſuch was his application to buſineſs, that on a cauſe being finiſhed, and his calling for the next that was to be heard, he was anſwered, there was not one cauſe more depending; which he ordered immediately to be ſet down on record.

When Sir Thomas More was lord chancellor, his father, Sir John, was one of the oldeſt judges in the King's Bench; and it was a very unuſual ſight in Weſtminſter-Hall, to ſee two ſuch great ſeats filled by a father and a ſon at the ſame time. There was another, however, ſtill more ſurpriſing; for, if the court of King's-Bench was ſitting, when the chancellor came into the Hall, he went firſt into that court, and there kneeling down, in the ſight of every body, aſked his father's bleſſing: and when they happened to meet together at the readings in Lincoln's Inn, he always offered the precedence to his father, though, on account of his ſon's high dignity, Sir John as conſtantly waved it.

Though living much at court, a chearful man, and a man of buſineſs, yet it appears that Sir Thomas More had a different ſenſe of religion upon his mind, from what courtiers and men of buſineſs generally have. We are told, in particular, that it was his conſtant cuſtom, beſides his private prayers, to read the Pſalms and Litany with his wife and children in a morning; and every night to go with his whole family into the chapel, and there devoutly read the Pſalms and

and Collects with them. But because he chose sometimes to retire, even from his family, and sequester himself from the world, he built, at some distance from his mansion house, a gallery, library, and chapel, where, as on other days, he spent some time in study and devotion: so on Fridays he continued there the whole day, employing it in such exercises as he thought might best improve his mind in religious matters. The great offices which he held, and which he always executed with a splendor suitable to their dignity, obliged him to keep many servants; but he never suffered any of them to be idle, that they might not acquire a habit of sloth, and to keep them from gaming, and other profligate courses, of which idleness is the source. Let not, however, the reader imagine from hence, that he was a sour and splenetic philosopher. On the contrary, he was the farthest from it in the world; and, in his hours of relaxation from business, delighted in music, and other chaste amusements. He was also a lover of the polite arts, of which we have an instance in his patronage of Hans Holbein, the famous portrait-painter, who being recommended to him by letter from Erasmus, the chancellor kept him in his house till he had painted the portraits of all his family. He then took occasion to shew his pieces to the king; when Henry was so struck with the resemblances, that he asked Sir Thomas, if such an artist was alive, and to be procured for money? To which the generous patron replied, by producing Holbein, who was immediately taken into the king's service, in which he died of the plague, in 1554.

But having proceeded thus far in a panegyric, which truth and justice demanded of us, we must now take the other side of the question, and confess, that, while Sir Thomas was adorned with the gentlest manners, and the purest integrity, he shewed, upon many occasions, a culpable aversion to what he judged to be heresy; which can only be excused upon the principles

of conſcience, and his general good character. In defence of the Romiſh faith he wrote ſeveral virulent books, in oppoſition to the propagators of the principles of the Reformation; which act of zeal was ſo acceptable to the Engliſh clergy, that, being aſſembled in full convocation, they unanimouſly agreed to make him a preſent of four or five thouſand pounds, (equal to thirty at this day) as a recompence for his holy labours. The ſame being raiſed by a general contribution among them, three biſhops were deputed to wait upon him in the name of the whole body, to tender their warmeſt acknowledgements for the ſervice he had done the church; and to intreat his acceptance of the teſtimony ſhe offered of her gratitude. But what was the anſwer of this great man to theſe reverend fathers? It would be an injury to give it any other words than his own. "It is no ſmall comfort to me," ſaid he, "that ſuch wiſe and learned men ſo well accepted of my works; but I never will receive any reward for them, but at the hand of God:" and when the biſhops, on finding he would not by any means touch the money, deſired leave to preſent it to his family, "Not ſo, indeed, my lords;" replied he: "I had rather ſee it all caſt into the Thames than that I, or any of mine, ſhould have a penny of it; for though your lordſhips' offer is very friendly and honourable to me, yet, I ſet ſo much by my pleaſure, and ſo little by my profit, that, in good faith, I would not, for a much larger ſum, have loſt the reſt of ſo many nights, as was ſpent upon theſe writings: and yet I wiſh, upon condition that all hereſies were ſuppreſſed, that all my books were burnt, and my labour entirely loſt." The prelates then ſaw that it was in vain to urge him any farther; ſo with much reluctance they carried the gold back, and reſtored, to their much aſtoniſhed brethren, the ſum which every individual had contributed.

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It has been aſſerted by many hiſtorians, that Henry gave the great ſeal to Sir Thomas More, purely with a view of engaging the opinion of a man ſo eminent for piety and learning, in favour of his divorce from queen Catherine; for he thought, after beſtowing on him ſuch a poſt, Sir Thomas could not with decency refuſe it. But if theſe were really the king's ſentiments, he knew very little of the perſon he had to deal with, and in the end found himſelf miſtaken. Sir Thomas always vowed, that he thought the marriage lawful in the ſight of God, ſince it had once received the ſanction of the Apoſtolic council; for, though he ſtood the foremoſt among thoſe who were for aboliſhing the illegal juriſdiction which the popes exerciſed in England, he was far from wiſhing a total rupture with the ſee of Rome, which he plainly perceived was unavoidable, according to the meaſures that king Henry was then purſuing. All theſe things conſidered, Sir Thomas, knowing he muſt be engaged in the conteſt, one way or other, on account of his office, by which means he muſt either offend his conſcience, or diſoblige the king, never ceaſed ſoliciting his great and intimate friend the duke of Norfolk to intercede with his majeſty, that he might deliver up the ſeal, for which, through many infirmities of body, he ſaid he was no longer fit; and being preſſed ſo often by him to this purpoſe, the duke at length applied to the king, and obtained permiſſion that the chancellor might reſign. But when he waited on Henry for that purpoſe, the monarch, notwithſtanding what he called Sir Thomas's obſtinacy, with regard to his great affair, expreſſed much unwillingneſs to part with ſo uſeful a ſervant; and, giving him many thanks and commendations for his excellent execution of a moſt important truſt, aſſured him, that, in any requeſt he ſhould have occaſion to make, which concerned either his intereſt or his honour, he ſhould always find the crown ready to aſſiſt him.

As Sir Thomas More had ſuſtained the office of lord high chancellor, for above two years and a half, with the utmoſt wiſdom and integrity, ſo he retired from it with an unparalleled greatneſs of mind, not being able to defray the neceſſary expences of his private family, when he had diveſted himſelf of that employment. About the time of his reſignation, died Sir John More, his father, in a very advanced age, whom he often viſited and comforted in his illneſs, and to whom he expreſſed the moſt filial affection in his laſt moments. This was an event, however, which brought him a very inconſiderable increaſe of fortune, becauſe the greateſt part of his father's eſtate was ſettled upon his ſecond wife, who out-lived Sir Thomas many years. When he had delivered up the great ſeal, he wrote an apology for himſelf, in which he declared to the public, that all the revenues and penſions he had by his father, his wife, or his own purchaſe, except the manors given him by the king, did not amount to the value of fifty pounds a year. Strange it will appear in this age, that a privy counſellor, who had filled ſo many great offices for above twenty years, and had been all his life a frugal man, ſhould not have been able to purchaſe an hundred pounds per annum. But ſuch was this excellent man's charity, and ſuch his contempt of money, that in all that time he made no proviſion for himſelf, or family.

The day after he quitted the chancellorſhip, which his own family knew nothing of, he went as uſual to Chelſea Church, with his wife and daughter, and after maſs was over (it being cuſtomary for one of his gentlemen to go to his lady, to tell her the chancellor was gone out of church) he went himſelf to the pew-door, and making her a low bow, ſaid, "Madam, my Lord is gone." But ſhe, knowing his humour, took very little notice of this; however, as they were walking home, he told her how matters really ſtood; and ſhe, finding he was in earneſt, and being a worldly

ly minded woman, cried, in her accuſtomed manner, "Tilly vally, what will you do, Mr More? Will you ſit and make goſlings in the coals? Would to God I were a man, and you ſhould quickly ſee what I would do! I would not be ſo fooliſh to be ruled, where I might rule." To which Sir Thomas replied, "By my faith, wife, I believe you ſpeak truth, for I never yet found you willing to be ruled;" and then finding fault with her dreſs, he changed the diſcourſe.

The firſt thing he ſet about, after the ſurrender of his office, was to provide places for all his gentlemen and ſervants among the nobility and biſhops, that they might not be ſufferers through him. This being done to his ſatisfaction, he next, being no longer able to bear their expences as he uſed to do, diſpoſed of his married children in their own houſes, leſſening his family by degrees, till he could get it within the bounds of his ſmall income, making, at the utmoſt, but a little above one hundred pounds a year. Nor had he, after his debts were paid, an hundred pounds, in gold and ſilver upon earth, his chain and a few rings excepted.

Sir Thomas now reſolved never to engage again in public buſineſs. He gave himſelf up to a domeſtic life, in a retired manner, at his houſe at Chelſea; but as he was well acquainted with the inconſtant and cruel temper of the king, he expected to be treated with rigour, and therefore he prepared himſelf to meet with fortitude whatever evils or ſufferings might befal him.

The corronation of Anne Boleyn being fixed for the 31ſt of May, 1533, Sir Thomas More was invited to be preſent at the ceremony; but this he declined, as he ſtill retained his opinion as to the illegality of the king's divorce from queen Catherine. This refuſal exaſperated the king ſo much, that in the enſuing parliament a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, attainting him, with ſeveral others, for countenancing

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and encouraging Elizabeth Barton, a pretended propheteſs, ſtyled, "The Holy Maid of Kent."

This woman affirmed, that ſhe had revelations from God, to give the king warning of his wicked life, and the abuſe of the authority committed to him. In a journey to the Nuns of Sion, ſhe called on Sir Thomas More, and declaring her pretended revelations to him, he was brought in, by the king's direction, as an accomplice with her. He juſtified himſelf, however, as to all the intercourſe he had with her, in ſeveral letters to ſecretary Cromwell; in which he ſaid, he was convinced ſhe was the moſt falſe diſſembling hypocrite that had ever been known. But this availed him nothing, the king being highly incenſed againſt him; and when Sir Thomas deſired to be admitted into the Houſe of Commons, to make his own defence againſt the bill, his majeſty would not conſent to it, but aſſigned a committee of the council to hear him. But the chief point intended was to prevail on him, by fair words or threatenings, to give a public aſſent to the king's meaſure; to which purpoſe the lord chancellor Audley made a great parade of his majeſty's extraordinary love and favour to Sir Thomas. But the worthy knight, not to be ſhaken, after aſſuring the committee of the juſt ſenſe he had of the king's goodneſs to him, told them, "That he had hoped he ſhould never have heard any more of that buſineſs, ſince he had, from the beginning, informed his majeſty of his ſentiments with regard to it; and the king accepted them not ungraciouſly, promiſing, that he ſhould never be moleſted farther about it. However, he had found nothing, ſince the firſt agitation of the matter, to perſuade him to change his mind; if he had, it would have given him a great deal of pleaſure." Then the lords proceeded to threaten him, telling him, it was his majeſty's commands they ſhould inform him, that he was the moſt ungrateful and traiterous ſubject in the world; adding, that he had been the

means of his majeſty's publiſhing a book, in which he had put a ſword in the pope's hand to fight againſt himſelf. This was Henry's famous book againſt Luther; but Sir Thomas clearing himſelf of this charge alſo, and proteſting he had always found fault with thoſe parts of the book which were calculated to raiſe the power of the pope, and that he had objected againſt them to his majeſty; the lords, not being able to make any reply to his vindication, broke up the committee. Mr Roper, ſeeing Sir Thomas extremely chearful at his return, aſked him if his name was ſtruck out of the bill of attainder, that he was in ſuch good ſpirits. "I had forgotten that," ſaid the knight; "but, if you would know the reaſon of my mirth, it is, that I have given the devil ſo foul a fall to-day; and gone ſo far with theſe lords, that, without great ſhame indeed, I can never go back."

As the duke of Norfolk, and ſecretary Cromwell, had a high eſteem for Sir Thomas, they uſed their utmoſt efforts to diſſuade the king from proceeding on the bill of attainder; aſſuring him, that they found the upper houſe were fully determined to hear him in his own defence, before they would paſs it; and, if his name were not ſtruck out, it was much to be apprehended, that the bill would be rejected. But the king was too haughty to ſubmit to a ſubject, with whom he had entered the liſts, and too vindictive in his temper to forgive a man who had been his favourite, and yet had dared to offend him. After talking, therefore, in a very high ſtrain, he ſaid, that he would be preſent himſelf in the houſe when the bill ſhould paſs; thinking, no doubt, that the parliament ſtood ſo much in awe of him, that the lords would not then dare to reject it. The committee of the council, however, differed from him; and finding that nothing elſe would moderate the obſtinacy and vehemence with which he purſued this point, they fell on their knees, and beſought him to forbear; telling him, "That if it

it ſhould be carried againſt him, in his own preſence, as they believed it would, it would encourage his ſubjects to deſpiſe him, and be a diſhonour to him alſo all over Europe. They did not doubt but they ſhould be able to find out ſomething elſe againſt Sir Thomas, wherein they might ſerve his majeſty with ſome ſucceſs; but in this affair of the Nun he was univerſally accounted ſo innocent, that the world thought him worthier of praiſe, than of reproof." With theſe ſuggeſtions, eſpecially that of finding ſomething elſe againſt him, they at laſt ſubdued the king's obſtinacy; and the name of Sir Thomas More was ſtruck out of the bill.

But it being now publicly known, that he was as much out of favour with the king, as he had been in his good graces before, accuſations poured in againſt him from every quarter; and then it was, that he found the peculiar advantage of his innocence and integrity. For, if he had not always acted with the higheſt probity, ſo that, in all the offices which he went through he kept himſelf clear of every ſort of corruption, the moſt trivial matter would have been laid to his charge, in order to cruſh him. Of this we have an inſtance in the caſe of one Parnell, who complained, that he had made a decree againſt him in the court of Chancery, at the ſuit of Vaughan his adverſary, for which he had received (Vaughan being confined at home with the gout) from the hands of his wife, a great gilt cup, as a bribe. Upon this accuſation, he was brought before the council, by the king's direction; and being charged by the witneſs with the fact, he readily owned, that as that cup was brought to him for a new-year's-gift, long after the decree was made, he had not refuſed to take it.

Sir Thomas Boleyn, now lord Wiltſhire, father to the new queen, who proſecuted the ſuit againſt him, and who hated him for not conſenting to the king's marriage with her, was tranſported with joy to hear

him own it, and haſtily cried out, "Lo! my lords, did I not tell you, that you ſhould find the matter true?" Sir Thomas More then deſired, that as they had with indulgence heard him tell one part of the tale, ſo they would vouchſafe to hear the other: and this being granted, he declared, "That though, after much ſolicitation, he had indeed received the cup, and it was long after the decree was made, yet he had ordered his butler to fill it immediately with wine, of which he directly drank to Mrs Vaughan; and, when ſhe had pledged him in it, then as freely as her huſband had given it to him, even ſo freely he gave the ſame to her again, to preſent unto her huſband for his new-year's-gift; and which ſhe received, and carried back again, though with ſome reluctance." The truth of this, the woman herſelf, and others then preſent, depoſed before the council, to the great confuſion of the lord Wiltſhire, and to the diſappointment of all his other enemies.

Other accuſations, equally groundleſs, were brought againſt him, which ſerved only the more fully to demonſtrate his innocence and integrity. But in a parliament, which was called in 1534, among many other acts which tended to abrogate the papal power, there was one to declare the king's marriage with Catherine againſt the law of God, confirming the ſentence againſt it, notwithſtanding any diſpenſation to the contrary; and eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion to the crown of England in the iſſue of his majeſty's preſent marriage with queen Anne. There was a clauſe in this act, that if any perſon ſhould divulge any thing to the ſlander of this marriage, or of the iſſue begotten in it, or, being required to ſwear to maintain the contents of this act, refuſe it, they ſhould be adjudged guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, and ſuffer accordingly: and, before the two houſes broke up, that they might ſet a good example to the king's other ſubjects, all the members took the oath relating to the ſucceſſion; after which, commiſ-

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ſioners were ſent all over the kingdom, to adminiſter it to the people of every rank and denomination.

In a ſhort time after the breaking-up of the parliament, there was a committee of the cabinet-council at Lambeth, conſiſting of the archbiſhop, the lord-chancellor Audley, and ſecretary Cromwell; where ſeveral eccleſiaſtics, but no other layman, beſides Sir Thomas More, were cited to appear, and take the oath. Sir Thomas being firſt called, and the oath tendered to him under the great ſeal, he deſired to ſee the act of ſucceſſion which enjoined it; and this being alſo ſhewed him, he ſaid, "That he would blame neither thoſe who had made the act, nor thoſe who had taken the oath; but, for his own part, though he was willing to ſwear to the ſucceſſion in a form of his own drawing, yet the oath which was offered was ſo worded, that his conſcience revolted againſt it, and he could not take it with ſafety to his ſoul." He offered, however, to ſwear to the ſucceſſion of the crown in the iſſue of the king's preſent marriage; but he thought the parliament had a right to determine that matter. Mr ſecretary Cromwell, who tenderly favoured him, and who knew the conſequence of this debate, when he perceived that Sir Thomas could not be prevailed on to take the oath as it was tendered, ſaw that his ruin would become inevitable; and, in his great anxiety, proteſted with an oath, "That he had rather his only ſon ſhould have loſt his head, than that Sir Thomas More ſhould have refuſed to ſwear to the ſucceſſion:" and the conference ending in this manner, he was committed to the cuſtody of the abbot of Weſtminſter for four days; during which, the king and his council deliberated, what courſe it was beſt to take with him. Several methods were propoſed, but Henry would liſten to none of them; and, in the end, Sir Thomas More was committed priſoner to the Tower, and indicted on the ſtatute.

His misfortunes made ſo little impreſſion upon his ſpirits, that he retained his uſual mirth. The lieuten-

ant of the Tower had been formerly under ſome obligation to him, and therefore apologized to him, that he could not accommodate him as he wiſhed, without incurring the king's diſpleaſure: to which he replied, "Maſter lieutenant, whenever I find fault with the entertainment you provide for me, do you turn me out of doors." When Sir Thomas had been confined about a month, his favourite daughter was allowed to viſit him, and afterwards his wife. As ſhe had not the magnanimity, and probably not ſo good a heart as her huſband, ſhe remonſtrated with much petulance, "That he, who had been always reputed ſo wiſe a man, ſhould now ſo play the fool, as to be content to be ſhut up in a cloſe filthy priſon with rats and mice, when he might enjoy his liberty and the king's favour, if he would but do as all the biſhops and other learned men had done: and as he had a good houſe to live in, his library, his gallery, his garden, and all other neceſſaries handſome about him, where he might enjoy himſelf with his wife and children, ſhe could not conceive what he meant by tarrying ſo quietly in this impriſonment." He heard her very patiently, and then aſked her in his facetious manner, "Whether that houſe was not as nigh to heaven as his own?" which ſhe reſenting, he added very ſeriouſly, "That he ſaw no great cauſe for ſo much joy in his houſe, and the things about it, which would ſo ſoon forget its maſter, that, if he were under ground but ſeven years, and came to it again, he ſhould find thoſe in it who would bid him begone, and tell him it was none of his. Beſides, his ſtay in it was ſo uncertain, that as he would be but a bad merchant, who would put himſelf in danger to loſe eternity, for a thouſand years; ſo how much more, if he were not ſure to enjoy it one day to an end?"

Sir Thomas had now been a priſoner in the Tower above a year, and the king had tried every expedient to procure his approbation of his divorce, and ſecond marriage, that he might avail himſelf of the example

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of a man ſo famous for his wiſdom, learning, and religion, but in vain. The knight had eſpouſed the cauſe of queen Catherine, upon a principle of conſcience, and therefore he always withſtood Henry upon that point with a firmneſs becoming his character. The affair of the king's ſupremacy was no leſs a matter of conſcience to him than the other; but, as the ſtatute which enacted it had made it treaſon to write or ſpeak againſt it, he obſerved a ſilence in this reſpect, conformable to the law; but he refuſed to acknowledge it with an oath: wherefore the king, being determined to get rid of a man who had given him ſo much trouble, and of whoſe virtues and popularity he ſtood in awe, gave orders that Sir Thomas More ſhould be brought to his trial.

In conſequence of this, on a day appointed, he was conveyed in a boat from the Tower to Weſtminſter-hall. So long an impriſonment had much impaired his ſtrength: he went, therefore, leaning on his ſtaff from the water-ſide; but though his countenance carried the marks of weakneſs and infirmity, it had the ſame air of chearfulneſs, which always ſat upon it in the days of his proſperity. He was tried by the lord chancellor, and a committee of the lords, with ſome of the judges, at the bar of the King's-Bench. When the attorney-general had gone through the charge againſt him in the indictment, in the moſt virulent manner, the lord chancellor ſaid to him, in which he was ſeconded by the duke of Norfolk, "You ſee now, how grievouſly you have offended his majeſty; nevertheleſs, he is ſo merciful, that, if you will but leave your obſtinacy, and change your opinion, we hope you may yet obtain pardon of his highneſs for what is paſt." To this he replied with great reſolution, "That he had much cauſe to thank theſe noble lords for this courteſy; but he beſought Almighty God, that, through his grace, he might continue in the mind, he was then in, unto death." After this, he went through his defence upon every

every part of the indictment with great ſtrength of argument, powerful eloquence, and an aſtoniſhing preſence of mind.

The principal evidence againſt him was Mr Rich, the ſolicitor-general, who being called and ſworn, depoſed, that when he was ſent, ſome time before, to fetch Sir Thomas More's books and papers from the Tower, at the end of a converſation with him, upon the king's ſupremacy, on Mr Rich's owning, on a caſe put by him, that no parliament could make a law that God ſhould not be God, Sir Thomas replied, "No more can the parliament make the king ſupreme head of the church." When the ſolicitor-general had given this evidence to the court upon oath, the priſoner, under a great ſurpriſe at the malice and falſhood of it, ſaid, "If I were a man, my lords, that did not regard an oath, I needed not, at this time, and in this place, as it is well known to you all, ſtand as an accuſed perſon; and if this oath, Mr Rich, which you have taken, be true, then I pray, that I may never ſee God in the face; which I would not ſay, were it otherwiſe, to gain the whole world." Upon which, the ſolicitor not being able to prove his teſtimony by witneſſes, though he attempted it, that allegation dropped.

But, unhappily for Sir Thomas, he lived in the days of Henry VIII. whoſe will was a law to judges, as well as juries: notwithſtanding, therefore, the evidence againſt him proved notoriouſly falſe; yet the jury, to their eternal reproach, found him guilty. They had no ſooner brought in their verdict, than the lord-chancellor Audley, as the mouth of the court, began immediately to pronounce the ſentence; but the priſoner ſtopped him ſhort with this modeſt rebuke: "My lord, when I was towards the law, the manner in ſuch caſes was, to aſk the priſoner, before ſentence, whether he could give any reaſon why judgment ſhould not proceed againſt him?" Upon this, the chancellor had

had the grace to ſtay, and aſked Sir Thomas what he was able to alledge. But if a jury could not be moved by what he had ſaid in defending himſelf againſt the charge in this indictment, there could be little hope, that judges would be influenced to wave their ſentence by what he could ſay againſt the matter of the indictment itſelf. However, whether the exceptions he made were too ſtrong to be anſwered; or whether the chancellor began at this time to feel ſome little compunction, or had reaſon to be afraid of the popular clamour, if he took the condemnation of the priſoner entirely upon himſelf; after Sir Thomas had done ſpeaking, he turned to the lord-chief-juſtice, and aſked him his opinion openly before the court, as to the validity of the indictment, notwithſtanding the exceptions of the priſoner. The anſwer of the chief juſtice, whoſe name was Fitz-James, is ſomewhat remarkable: "My lords all, by St Gillian, I muſt needs confeſs, that if the act of parliament be not unlawful, then in my conſcience the indictment is not inſufficient." Upon this equivocal expreſſion, the lord-chancellor ſaid to the reſt, "Lo, my lords; lo, you hear what my lord-chief-juſtice ſaith;" and, without waiting for any reply, proceeded to paſs ſentence, "That Sir Thomas More ſhould be carried back to the Tower of London, and from thence be drawn on a hurdle through the city to Tyburn, there to be hanged till he was half dead; after that, cut down, yet alive, his private parts cut off, his belly ripped, his bowels burnt, his four quarters ſet up over the gates of the city, and his head upon London bridge."

This ſhocking ſentence filled the eyes of many with tears, and their hearts with horror. Then the court telling Sir Thomas, that, if he had any thing farther to ſay, they were ready to hear him, he ſtood up, and addreſſed himſelf to the court, in a manner that ſhews him to have been a primitive Chriſtian and true philoſopher, however he might be blinded in other reſpects

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by Romiſh ſuperſtition. "I have nothing," ſaid he, "farther to ſay, my lords, but that like as the bleſſed apoſtle St Paul was preſent, and conſented to the death of Stephen, and kept their cloaths who ſtoned him to death, and yet be they now both twain holy ſaints in heaven, and ſhall continue there friends for ever; ſo I verily truſt, and ſhall therefore right heartily pray, that though your lordſhips have now been judges on earth to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter all meet together in heaven, to our everlaſting ſalvation: and ſo I pray God preſerve you all, and eſpecially my ſovereign lord the king, and ſend him faithful counſellors."

Having taken his leave of the court in this noble manner, he was conducted from the bar to the Tower, with the axe carried before him in the uſual manner after condemnation. But, when he came to the Tower-wharf, his favourite daughter, Mrs Margaret Roper, thinking this would be the laſt opportunity ſhe ſhould ever have, was waiting there to ſee him. As ſoon as he appeared, ſhe burſt through the throng and guard, which ſurrounded him, and having received his bleſſing upon her knees, ſhe embraced him eagerly before them all, amidſt a flood of tears, and a thouſand kiſſes of tenderneſs and affection. Her heart being ready to break with grief, the only words that ſhe could utter, were, "My father, oh my father!" If any thing could have ſhaken his fortitude, it muſt have been this: but he only took her up in his arms, and told her, "That whatſoever he ſhould ſuffer, though he was innocent, yet it was not without the will of God, to whoſe bleſſed pleaſure ſhe ſhould conform her own will; that ſhe knew well enough all the ſecrets of his heart, and that ſhe muſt be patient for her loſs." Upon this ſhe parted from him; but ſcarcely was ſhe turned aſide, before her paſſions of grief and love became irreſiſtible, and ſhe again ſuddenly broke through the crowd, ran eagerly upon him the ſecond time, took him round the

the neck, and hung upon him with her embraces, ready to die with ſorrow. This was rather too much for man to bear; and though he did not ſpeak a word, yet the tears flowed down his cheeks in great abundance, till ſhe took her laſt embrace, and left him.

After he had lain a few days under ſentence of death, preparing his mind, by prayer and meditation, for the ſtroke which was to follow; one of the creatures of the king made him a viſit, with an intent to perſuade him, if poſſible, to comply with his majeſty's will, and to change his mind. Sir Thomas, wearied at laſt with his nonſenſe and importunity, in order to get rid of him, told him, "That he had changed it;" which words were no ſooner out of his mouth, than the courtier, pluming himſelf upon the merit he ſhould have in bringing Sir Thomas More to the point which his majeſty wiſhed, and ſo many others had tried in vain, went in great haſte and joy to inform the king. Henry, however, was not without apprehenſions of a miſtake: he ordered the meſſenger of the news, therefore, to return immediately to the Tower, to know in what particulars the priſoner had changed his mind: when he had the mortification not only to be rebuked for his impertinent officiouſneſs, in telling his majeſty every word Sir Thomas had ſaid, even in jeſt; but alſo to learn that he had changed his mind no otherwiſe than this, "That whereas he intended to be ſhaved, that he might appear to the people as he was wont to do before his impriſonment, he was now fully reſolved that his beard ſhould ſhare the ſame fate with his head." In conſideration that he had borne the higheſt office in the kingdom, his ſentence of being drawn, hanged, and quartered, was, by the king's favour, changed into beheading; and when he was informed of it, he ſaid, with his uſual mirth, "God forbid the king ſhould uſe any more ſuch mercy to any of my friends! and God preſerve my poſterity from ſuch favours!"

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On the 5th of July, 1535, Sir Thomas Pope, his intimate friend, came to him from the king, very early in the morning, to acquaint him that he was to be executed that day at nine o'clock, and therefore that he muſt immediately prepare himſelf for death. However, if his majeſty intended to ſhock or affright him by this ſhort warning, he loſt his aim ſo entirely, that the priſoner ſaid to Sir Thomas Pope, "I moſt heartily thank you for your good tidings; I have been much bound to the king's highneſs for the benefit of his honours that he hath moſt bountifully beſtowed upon me, yet I am more bound to his grace, I do aſſure you, for putting me here, where I have had convenient time and ſpace to have remembrance of my end; and (ſo help me God!) moſt of all I am bound unto him, that it hath pleaſed his majeſty ſo ſhortly to rid me out of the miſeries of this wretched world." His friend then told him, that his majeſty's pleaſure farther was, that he ſhould not uſe many words at his execution: to which Sir Thomas anſwered, "You do well, Mr Pope, to give me warning of the king's pleaſure herein, for otherwiſe I had propoſed, at that time, to have ſpoken ſomewhat, but no matter wherewith his grace, or any others, ſhould have cauſe to be offended: howbeit, whatſoever I intended, I am ready to conform myſelf obediently to his highneſs's command; and I beſeech you, good Mr Pope, to be a means to his majeſty, that my daughter Margaret may be at my burial." Being told that the king had already conſented that his wife, and children, and any of his friends, might have the liberty to be preſent at it, he added, "O how much beholden then am I to his grace, that unto my poor burial vouchſafes to have ſuch gracious conſideration!" Sir Thomas Pope having thus diſcharged his commiſſion bad his friend adieu, with many tears, and with much commiſeration; but the priſoner deſired him to be comforted with the proſpect of eternal bliſs, in which they ſhould

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live and love together; and to give him an impreſſion of the eaſe and quiet of his own mind, he took his urinal in his hand, and caſting his water, ſaid with his uſual mirth, "I ſee no danger but that this man might live longer, if it had pleaſed the king."

As ſoon as Sir Thomas Pope had left him, he dreſſed himſelf in the beſt cloaths he had, that his appearance might expreſs the eaſe and complacency which he felt within. The lieutenant of the Tower objecting to this generoſity to his executioner, who was to have his cloaths, Sir Thomas aſſured him, "if it was cloth of gold, he ſhould think it well beſtowed on him who was to do him ſo ſingular a benefit." But the lieutenant, who was his friend, preſſed him very much to change his dreſs; and Sir Thomas, being very unwilling to deny him ſo ſmall a gratification, put on a gown of frieze; and, of the little money that he had left, ſent an angel to the executioner, as a token of his good will.

And now the fatal hour being come, about nine o'clock he was brought out of the Tower, carrying a red croſs in his hand, and often lifting up his eyes to heaven. A woman meeting him with a cup of wine, he refuſed it, ſaying, "Chriſt at his paſſion drank no wine, but gall and vinegar." Another woman came crying, and demanded ſome papers ſhe ſaid ſhe had left in his hands when he was lord chancellor; to whom he ſaid, "Good woman, have patience but for an hour, and the king will rid me of the care I have for thoſe papers, and every thing elſe." Another woman followed him, crying, he had done her much wrong when he was lord-chancellor; to whom he ſaid, "I very well remember the cauſe, and if I were to decide it now, I ſhould make the ſame decree." When he came to the ſcaffold, it ſeemed ready to fall; whereupon, he ſaid, merrily, to the lieutenant, "Pray, Sir, ſee me ſafe up; and as to my coming down, let me ſhift for myſelf." He then deſired the people to

pray for him, to bear witneſs that he died in the faith of the catholic-church, a faithful ſervant to God and the king. He repeated the *miſerere* pſalm kneeling, with much devotion; and the executioner aſking him forgiveneſs, he kiſſed him, and ſaid, "Pluck up thy ſpirits, man, and be not afraid to do thine office; my neck is very ſhort, take heed therefore thou ſtrike not awry, for ſaving thine honeſty." Laying his head upon the block, he bad the executioner ſtay till he had put his beard aſide, for that had committed no treaſon. At one blow of the axe his head was then ſevered from his body.

Such was the tragical end of Sir Thomas More, whoſe great accompliſhments rendered him an ornament to his country, and who for his integrity, his fortitude, his incorruptible ſpirit, and generous contempt of riches and external honours, was equal to the moſt celebrated characters of ancient Greece or Rome.

His perſon was of the middle ſtature, and well proportioned, his complexion fair, and his countenance chearful, expreſſing the temper of his mind.

His *Utopia* is his moſt celebrated work; but he alſo wrote the hiſtory of king Richard the Third, which has been publiſhed both in Latin and Engliſh. He wrote many other pieces; but they are now little known, being chiefly in defence of the Roman catholic religion.

*** *Authorities.* Life of Sir Thomas More, by Mr Roper, in the Muſeum, Harleian MSS. No. 7030. Hoddeſdon's life of More. Dr Warner's *ditto*. Biog. Britan. Britiſh Biography, Vol. II. Jortin's life of Eraſmus.

THE

JOHN FISHER, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

[A. D. 1459, to 1535.]

THE memoirs of this illuſtrious prelate are ſo cloſely connected with thoſe of Sir Thomas More, that the omiſſion of ſome account of a fellow-ſufferer in the ſame cauſe would not only create a chaſm in the hiſtorical events of the reign of Henry VIII. but might miſlead the reader into an opinion, that Sir Thomas was the ſole victim to the king's diſappointment and rage on the conteſted points of his divorce and ſupremacy.

JOHN FISHER was the ſon of a merchant of Beverly, in Yorkſhire, where he was born in the year 1459; and his father dying while he was very young, the care of his education devolved to his mother, who being informed of the diſpoſition he diſcovered for learning, while under the tuition of a prieſt of the collegiate church of Beverly, reſolved to bring him up to the church, and with this view ſent him to the univerſity of Cambridge in 1484. In 1491, he was admitted maſter of arts; and in 1495 was appointed one of the proctors of the univerſity, and elected maſter of Michael houſe, the college in which he had been educated. In 1501, he went through his public exerciſes for the degree of doctor in divinity with ſuch uncommon credit, that his reputation was thereby conſiderably increaſed, and he was honoured with the office of vice-chancellor of the univerſity.

At this time, prince Arthur, the eldeſt ſon of Henry VII. was living; and prince Henry (afterwards Henry VIII.) being deſigned for an eccleſiaſtic, was put under the tuition of Dr Fiſher, who by this favourable opportunity was introduced to Margaret, the

famous Counteſs of Richmond, and mother of Henry VII. a lady eminent for her piety, her exemplary virtues, and her literary talents. The counteſs ſoon diſcerned the great merit of Dr Fiſher, and in conſequence appointed him to be her chaplain and confeſſor, in which ſtation he ſo entirely gained her eſteem, that in all her worldly as well as ſpiritual concerns ſhe acted under his advice and direction. The univerſity of Cambridge ſoon reaped the benefit of her confidence in him; for in 1502, by Fiſher's recommendation, the counteſs founded two perpetual divinity lectures, one at Oxford, and the other at Cambridge. Of the latter Dr Fiſher was appointed the firſt divinity profeſſor. In 1504, he was promoted to the ſee of Rocheſter; and it is greatly to his honour, that, though it was the leaſt valuable of any of the biſhoprics at that time, he never would change it for a better.

On the 29th of June, 1509, death deprived the good prelate of his and the public's royal benefactreſs, whoſe numerous acts of liberality, all calculated to ſerve the cauſe of piety and literature, have tranſmitted her memory to the preſent generation. Amongſt her many others, her foundations of Chriſt's and St John's colleges in Cambridge are laſting monuments of her well-directed munificence. She lived to ſee the firſt perfected in 1508, and the latter was completed under the pious care of the Biſhop of Rocheſter in 1516. This illuſtrious lady, who by her birth, and her marriage with the earl of Richmond, was related to thirty kings and queens within the fourth degree of blood or affinity, often declared, that "on condition the princes of Chriſtendom would combine themſelves, and march againſt their common enemy the Turks, ſhe would moſt willingly attend them, and be their laundreſs in the camp."

The biſhop of Rocheſter, in 1512, was nominated to attend the latern council at Rome, as it appears by the archives of St John's College; but it is moſt probable,

bable, that the inſpection of the two ſeminaries of learning founded by the counteſs of Richmond prevented the journey, even after he had obtained letters of recommendation to the moſt eminent men in Italy; though ſome have aſſigned this event to a diſguſt taken by cardinal Wolſey to our pious prelate, who at this time openly exclaimed againſt the cardinal's pomp and haughtineſs, at a ſynod of biſhops. Fiſher, however, continued in favour with the king till 1527, which it is not likely he would have done, if Wolſey had marked him out as a dangerous enemy.

In that year the king queſtioned Fiſher concerning the validity of his marriage with queen Catherine; and the biſhop, with his uſual freedom and integrity, declared it to be legal in the ſight of God and man, from which opinion he never would depart: and ſuch was the fame of his learning and probity in foreign countries, that Henry found himſelf more embarraſſed by the deference paid to the biſhop's deciſion, than even by the procraſtinations of the court of Rome. He, therefore, now began to withdraw his favour from his old preceptor, and moſt probably to meditate his deſtruction.

On the firſt occaſion that offered, the courtiers, as uſual, began the quarrel for their maſter. In the parliament, which met November 3, 1529, a motion was made in the houſe of lords, for ſuppreſſing the leſſer monaſteries, which the biſhop oppoſed with much warmth, when the duke of Norfolk very tartly reproved him, ſaying, "My lord of Rocheſter, many of theſe words might have been well ſpared: but it is often ſeen, that the greateſt clerks are not always the wiſeſt men." To which Fiſher replied, "My lord, I do not remember any fools in my time, that have proved great clerks."

But another circumſtance created the biſhop many enemies, which was his violent zeal againſt Luther and his followers; for, not content with preaching

againſt this reformer, he wrote a vindication of king Henry's book, entitled, *An aſſertion of the ſeven ſacraments againſt Martin Luther;* which had been fairly refuted by Luther; but for which the pope had given the king the title of "Defender of the Faith;" "A title," ſays Mr Horace Walpole, "which by a ſingular felicity in the wording of it, ſuited Henry equally well, when he burned Papiſts or Proteſtants,—it ſuited each of his daughters Mary and Elizabeth,—it fitted the martyr Charles, and the profligate Charles,—the Romiſh James, and the Calviniſt William,—and at laſt ſeemed peculiarly adapted to the weak head of high-church Anne."

The biſhop likewiſe, in conjunction with Sir Thomas More, ſeized all the books of Lutheraniſm, as well as thoſe containing any of the doctrines of the Wickliffites or Lollards, and puniſhed thoſe in his dioceſe who followed the errors, as he called them, of thoſe arch-heretics Wickliff and Luther.

In 1530, he was twice in very imminent hazard of his life. One Richard Rouſe came into the kitchen, and, while the biſhop's cook went out to fetch him ſome drink, took that opportunity to put poiſon into the gruel, which was preparing for the family dinner. Fortunately for the biſhop, he was indiſpoſed, and did not eat of the meſs; but of ſeventeen perſons who partook of it, two died, and the reſt were never reſtored to perfect health. Upon this occaſion, an act of parliament was made, which declared poiſoning to be high treaſon, and adjudged the offender to be boiled to death. And that ſevere puniſhment was accordingly inflicted upon Rouſe in Smithfield; but the act was afterwards repealed. The other danger which the biſhop eſcaped proceeded from a cannon bullet, which, being ſhot from the other ſide of the Thames, pierced through his houſe at Lambeth Marſh, and came very near his ſtudy, where he uſed to ſpend the greater part of

of his time. Upon which, apprehending there was a deſign againſt his life, he retired to Rocheſter.

In the year 1531, when the queſtion of giving the king the title of Supreme Head of the Church was agitated in the convocation, the biſhop oppoſed it in the ſtrongeſt terms; and, when he found it likely to paſs, he moved for an amendment, by adding theſe words, "In ſo far as is lawful by the law of Chriſt;" and theſe words being accordingly annexed by the votes of a majority, Henry was highly exaſperated againſt Fiſher, and from this time, his agents ſought all opportunities to ruin him. The biſhop too ſoon gave them an opportunity; for he was one of the many deluded perſons who gave credit to the pretended trances and holy inſpirations of the Maid of Kent. Amongſt other things, ſhe propheſied that if the king perſiſted in the divorce, and married another wife, he would not long ſurvive it. The biſhop, who warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of queen Catherine, conſented to an intercourſe with her: upon which ſecretary Cromwell, who was his friend, appriſed him of his danger, adviſed him to deſiſt from his imprudent encouragement of this impoſture, and to write to the king acknowledging his fault, and imploring his pardon; but, inſtead of this, the biſhop avowed his belief of the piety and integrity of the Maid of Kent. Cromwell renewed his remonſtrances againſt his conduct in a ſecond letter; and told him, that, if he was brought to trial, he would certainly be found guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon. The biſhop was accordingly afterwards tried, and with five others found guilty of having concealed from the king the ſpeeches Elizabeth Barton had made relative to his majeſty. He was condemned to forfeit his goods and chattels to the king, and to be impriſoned during his pleaſure; but he was releaſed, on paying a fine of 300*l*. As for the Maid of Kent, ſhe and the monks her accomplices were executed at Tyburn, where ſhe confeſſed her impoſtures,

poſtures, and a carnal intimacy with the monks, who, ſhe ſaid, had impoſed upon her ignorance.

During the ſame ſeſſion of parliament, in which thoſe who had countenanced this woman were attainted, the act was paſſed annulling the king's marriage with Catherine, and confirming his marriage with Anne Boleyn; and an oath was taken, by both houſes of allegiance to the heirs of the king's body by his moſt dear and entirely beloved lawful wife queen Anne begotten, and to be begotten, &c. Inſtead of taking this oath, the biſhop withdrew to his houſe at Rocheſter, where in about four days he received orders from the archbiſhop of Canterbury to attend him and the other commiſſioners, who were authoriſed to adminiſter the oath at Lambeth. He appeared to the ſummons, but, after conſidering the oath five days, abſolutely refuſed to take it, and was thereupon committed to the Tower on the 26th of April, 1534.

The general concern expreſſed by perſons of the firſt rank in the kingdom, for the impriſonment of this worthy prelate, induced the principal members of the king's council to viſit him in the Tower, and to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reconcile him to the oath, but in vain. All that they could obtain from him was that he would ſwear allegiance to the king, and to the ſucceſſion, but not to the illegality of the marriage with queen Catherine. In this reſolution, Fiſher, and his illuſtrious fellow-priſoner Sir Thomas More, remained inflexible; at the ſame time keeping up a friendly correſpondence by letters, animating each other to perſevere in obeying what they adjudged to be the law of God, in preference to the king's will and pleaſure. Archbiſhop Cranmer was the only man in the council who declared it as his opinion, that it would be prudent to accept their conceſſions with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, without troubling them on the other points; for ſo great an opinion had the archbiſhop of their influence, that, in his letter to Cromwell upon

upon this occaſion, he writes, "if they once ſwear to the ſucceſſion, it will quiet the kingdom, for they acknowledging it, all other perſons will acquieſce and ſubmit to their judgments." But the king, who made it a rule to ſhew no mercy to thoſe who oppoſed his arbitrary will, as ſoon as the parliament met in November 1534, took care to have him attainted for refuſing the oath required by the act of ſucceſſion, and his biſhopric was declared void from the 2d of January 1535. During his confinement, he was treated very unkindly by the king's expreſs orders, being hardly allowed the neceſſaries of life. It is highly probable the tyrant expected, that ill uſage, combining with old age, would have taken him off in the courſe of a year's impriſonment, and have ſpared him the ſhame of putting to death his venerable tutor. But the vigour of his conſtitution ſurmounting all hardſhips, the royal barbarian was obliged to have recourſe to the meaneſt of all ſtratagems to accompliſh his deſtruction, which he had vowed from the inſtant he received the news that Pope Paul III. in conſideration of his eminent piety, his learning, his liberality to the univerſity of Cambridge, and his faithful attachment to his religion, had created him a cardinal, by the title of Cardinal Prieſt of St Vitalis. This event happened in May; and Henry was ſo exaſperated, that he ſtrictly prohibited bringing the hat into his dominions, which was thereupon ſtopt at Calais; at the ſame time, Cromwell was ſent to the Tower, to ſound the biſhop upon this ſubject, and to diſcover if he had ſolicited this new honour. Fiſher, who was totally ignorant of what had paſſed, upon having this queſtion put by Cromwell, "My lord of Rocheſter, what would you ſay, if the pope ſhould ſend you a cardinal's hat; would you accept it?" immediately made the following modeſt and artleſs reply, "Sir, I know myſelf to be ſo far unworthy of any ſuch dignity, that I think of nothing leſs; but if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, aſſure yourſelf

I ſhould

I ſhould improve that favour to the beſt advantage that I could, in aſſiſting the holy catholic church of Chriſt, and in that reſpect I would receive it upon my knees." When this anſwer was reported to Henry, he exclaimed with great vehemence, "Yea, is he ſo luſty? Well, let the pope ſend him a hat when he will, mother of God! he ſhall wear it on his ſhoulders then, for I will leave him never a head to ſet it on." The ſnare was now laid to deſtroy the unfortunate biſhop: the ſoliciter Rich was ſent to the Tower from the king, to draw him into diſcourſe upon the ſubject of the ſupremacy. He accordingly repreſented to Fiſher, that the king, for the better ſatisfaction of his own conſcience, had ſent him privately to know his opinion concerning it; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, in the name of his royal maſter, that no peril or trouble ſhould enſue from declaring his free ſentiments. In this aſſurance, the biſhop declared to Rich, that the title was unlawful, and that the king could not take it, without endangering his ſoul. In conſequence of this declaration, he was brought to trial; and it was produced in evidence againſt him by Rich, that he had denied that the king was ſupreme head, on earth, of the church of England: this was affirmed to be high treaſon. It was in vain that the biſhop related the confidential manner in which Rich came to him; and that he pleaded his right to give his advice when commanded in the name of the king; very juſtly obſerving, that the ſtatute mentioned *maliciouſly* denying, which could by no means be conſtrued to affect him. All his arguments were loſt upon a court and jury acting under the influence of a mercileſs tyrant. Sentence of death was paſſed upon him on the 17th of June, in the uſual form; but, by warrant from the king, it was changed to decapitat on.

After his condemnation, his behaviour was conſiſtent with the great character that he had always maintained. It was pious, reſolute, and chearful, neither repining

repining at the manifeſt injuſtice of his ſentence, nor courting applauſe by exulting at the approach of the crown of martyrdom. On the 22d of June, the lieutenant of the Tower informed him, at five in the morning, that he was to ſuffer that day; and it is remarkable, that, after thanking the officer for his intelligence, he ſlept very ſound for two hours: after which he roſe with unuſual neatneſs, obſerving to his ſervant that it was his marriage day, and calmly reſigned himſelf to his hard fate. He was ſo extremely weak, that the warders of the Tower were obliged to carry him in a chair to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, where he was beheaded, and the next day his head was fixed upon London-bridge.

Thus fell, in the 77th year of his age, this moſt eminent prelate; whoſe tragical death left a foul blot on the judicial proceedings of this kingdom. He is repreſented to us, with reſpect to his perſon, as a very tall, comely, robuſt man, but greatly emaciated in the decline of life. His character has been already given; but the teſtimony of Eraſmus is too conſiderable to be omitted; he ſays of him, that "he was a man of the higheſt integrity, of profound learning, incredible ſweetneſs of temper, and uncommon greatneſs of ſoul."

He was the author of ſeveral theological and controverſial tracts in Latin and Engliſh, of no repute in the preſent times; but his opinion of the king's marriage, in a letter to T. Wolſey, printed in the collection of records at the end of the ſecond volume of Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, merits the notice of the curious.

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Bailey's life of Fiſher. Walpole's catalogue of royal and noble Authors. Burnet's hiſtory of the Reformation, *&c.*

THE

THE LIFE OF

THOMAS CROMWELL,

EARL OF ESSEX.

[A. D. 1498, to 1540.]

THE Perſians have a fable written by one of their moſt celebrated poets, in which the pine tree, and the cotton ſhrub, are brought together, diſputing the pre-eminence. The tree claims it on account of its height and upright poſition, and reflects on the cotton ſhrub, as contemptible, on account of its diminutiveneſs. But the ſhrub gets the better in the argument, in conſideration of its valuable produce; thereby conveying this moral: "That men are not to be eſteemed according to their birth, or appearance, but according to the excellence of their qualities; and as, in the former of theſe lights, the memorable perſon we are about to treat of will be held among the meaneſt; ſo, in the latter, where actions alone are conſidered, he will undoubtedly be rated among the moſt exalted of our Engliſh worthies.

Thomas Cromwell was the ſon of a blackſmith, and born at Putney, in the county of Surrey, about the year 1498; in which place he received all the education he ever had, being taught to read and write at the pariſh ſchool; where he acquired Latin enough to underſtand his Creed and Pater-noſter. It appears, however, that, in his latter days, his father turned brewer; and that, upon his mother's being left a widow, ſhe married a ſecond huſband, who was a ſheerman in London; but this perſon's name is no where recorded, neither is there any certainty as to the Chriſtian name of Cromwell's own father.

It

It cannot be ſuppoſed, that the ſon of ſuch parents could have a very conſiderable inheritance; and, indeed, it is morally certain that Cromwell derived nothing from his, beſides a robuſt and healthful conſtitution. However, as he grew up, finding in himſelf a great propenſity to travelling, he went into foreign countries; and, if we may credit Mr Lloyd, author of the Britiſh Worthies, was retained as a clerk or ſecretary to the Engliſh factory at Antwerp. But that office being too great a confinement, he ardently wiſhed for an opportunity to get rid of it; and, in 1510, one offered, which ſuited with the bent of his inclinations.

There had been, for many years, a famous guild of our lady, in the church of St Botolph, at Boſton in Lincolnſhire, to which ſeveral popes had granted very conſiderable indulgences; and, in thoſe days of ignorance and ſuperſtition, ſuch things were ſo highly valued by the people in general, that the ſiſters and brethren of the guild were very anxious to have them renewed by Julius II. who then preſided in St Peter's chair; for which purpoſe they diſpatched two meſſengers to Rome, with a large ſum of money, to be diſtributed, by them, as they ſhould find their intereſt required. Theſe taking Antwerp in their route, there became acquainted with Mr Cromwell; and, perceiving he was much better qualified to obtain what they deſired from the court of Rome than they were themſelves, they prevailed on him to accompany them thither. The conſequence of this union was very favourable. Cromwell coming with them to Rome, immediately ſet about enquiring into the character of the reigning pontiff; and finding that he was a very great epicure, he determined to avail himſelf of that foible, in order to procure the grant which his companions fought for. Accordingly, having cauſed ſome very curious jellies to be made, after the Engliſh faſhion, then unknown in Italy, he preſented them to the pope; and theſe delicacies ſo highly pleaſed the holy father,

that, without hesitation, he granted to the English commissaries the indulgences which they required.

After this transaction, the account of Cromwell's conduct in Italy is very imperfect. We only know, that, during his stay in that country, he served under the famous duke of Bourbon, being present at the sacking of Rome; and that he assisted John Russel, esq. afterwards Sir John, and earl of Bedford, in making his escape from Bologna, when he was in danger of being betrayed into the hands of the French, while he was transacting a secret commission for his master, king Henry VIII. and by this good office he acquired a friend who was of great service to him on his return to England. It is said, that Cromwell, in his journey to and from Rome, gave a wonderful instance of his extraordinary application and memory, by learning a new translation of the Testament, just then published, under the direction of Erasmus, by heart. But there is an instance of his gratitude, which, though it happened some years after, we must not omit to mention in this place, as it will throw a great light upon his circumstances, while he travelled, or rather wandered up and down upon the continent.

After the defeat of the French army at Castiglioni in Italy, Cromwell was reduced to the utmost poverty and distress, being destitute of the common necessaries of life; in which deplorable condition he arrived at the city of Florence. Here one Frescobald, a very rich and eminent merchant, meeting Cromwell one day by chance, and observing he was a foreigner in distress, enquired into his circumstances. On finding that he was an ingenious and deserving man, he was so wrought upon by compassion for the sufferings of his fellow creature, and generous regard for merit, that he not only equipped Cromwell with cloaths, but made him a present of a horse, and sixteen ducats in gold, to defray his expences into his own country. Frescobald, being afterwards reduced to poverty, came over to

England

England (where he had conſiderable dealings), in order to recover the ſum of one thouſand five hundred ducats, which were due to him from ſeveral perſons. Cromwell, who was then become a lord, finding him out, aſſiſted him in the recovery of his due, and not only repaid him the ſixteen ducats above-mentioned, but gave him ſixteen hundred more, to make up his former loſſes.

Thus, we ſee, by whatever means our adventurer contrived to get abroad, he was but very little the better for it, with regard to his immediate circumſtances; yet may it be truly ſaid, that Cromwell, in his travels, laid the foundation of that fortune which he ſubſequently enjoyed. For being a man of great diligence, and having a natural inclination for ſtate affairs, he took care to inform himſelf of the ſeveral laws, cuſtoms, and governments, of the nations he had viſited; and acquired ſo perfect a knowledge of the German, French, and Italian languages, that, when he came back into England, he could ſpeak them fluently, and write them with correctneſs. Theſe valuable accompliſhments ſoon recommended him to the notice of cardinal Wolſey; and we find Cromwell was in that miniſter's ſervice in 1522; who, on account of his great abilities, and equal induſtry, made him his ſolicitor, and frequently employed him in affairs of the utmoſt delicacy and importance. Cromwell was the cardinal's principal inſtrument in founding the two colleges at Oxford and Ipſwich; as he was, alſo, in ſuppreſſing the ſmall monaſteries which Henry VIII. allotted for the completing and endowing thoſe ſeminaries.

But nothing does ſo great an honour to the memory of Cromwell, as his fidelity and gratitude to his maſter Wolſey, when that miniſter fell into diſgrace, to whom he never failed in the ſmalleſt circumſtance of affection and reſpect, but got into parliament (in thoſe days a thing not very difficult) purpoſely to defend his

cauſe againſt his enemies; and he did it with ſo much ſtrength of reaſon and eloquence, that no treaſon could be laid to the cardinal's charge. By this means, indeed, Cromwell derived great advantages to himſelf; for Henry, ever on the watch for able people to ſerve him without conſidering what they might be in other particulars, took notice of a ſervant, who could ſo boldly and ſucceſsfully aſſert the cauſe of his degraded maſter, and, upon the diſſolution of the cardinal's houſhold, took Cromwell into his own ſervice, though not without the additional recommendation of Sir Chriſtopher Hales, maſter of the rolls, and Sir John Ruſſel, already mentioned, who had repreſented him as the fitteſt perſon to manage the diſputes which then ſubſiſted between the king of England and the pope; and being thus introduced at court, he ſoon acquired a conſiderable ſhare of the king's favour and confidence.

Cromwell, in his religious ſentiments, was known to be a favourer of the Reformation; and having already been acceſſary to the demolition of ſome religious houſes, his enemies, and the clergy in particular, loudly exclaimed againſt his promotion; but, inſtead of endeavouring to win them over, he ſoon widened the breach, by making the king acquainted with an important ſecret reſpecting them, which he had diſcovered while he was at Rome. The new favourite told his majeſty, that his authority was abuſed within his own realm by the pope and his clergy, who, being ſworn to him, were afterwards diſpenſed from their oath, and ſworn a-new to the biſhop of Rome; ſo that he was but half their king, and they but half his ſubjects; which, as Cromwell juſtly obſerved, was derogatory to his crown, and altogether prejudicial to the common laws of his kingdom; declaring withal, that his majeſty might accumulate to himſelf great riches, nay, as much as all the clergy in England were worth, if he pleaſed to take the occaſion which now offered. This was a propoſal the king readily liſtened to; and, approving

approving entirely of his advice, he aſked Cromwell if he could confirm what he ſaid; who anſwered, he could, to a certainty; and thereupon ſhewed his majeſty the oath which the prelates took to the head of the church at their conſecration; wherein they ſwore to help, retain, and defend, againſt all men, the popedom of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, the regalities of St Peter, &c.

It is eaſy to conceive how agreeable ſuch a diſcovery, which promiſed a new ſource of wealth, muſt have been to Henry. Accordingly, in the tranſport of his joy, he embraced Cromwell, and, that no time might be loſt, the convocation being then ſitting, he took the royal ſignet from his finger, and ſent Cromwell with it, to acquaint the clergy that they had all fallen into a premunire. The new miniſter, thus deputed from the king, placed himſelf among the biſhops, and ſilence being commanded, after enlarging upon the extent of the regal authority, and the obedience due to that, and the laws of the kingdom, he told them, that the clergy had violated both, by acknowledging the legantine power of Wolſey in England, and by their oaths to the pope, which were contrary to the allegiance they had ſworn to their ſovereign, whereby they had forfeited to the crown all their goods, chattels, lands, poſſeſſions, and livings. The biſhops, hearing this, were not a little frightened and aſtoniſhed, and at firſt attempted to excuſe themſelves, and deny the fact: but, after Cromwell had ſhewn them the very copy of the oath they took to the pope at their conſecration, the matter was ſo plain, they could ſay no more againſt it: ſo, to be quit of the premunire by act of parliament, the two provinces of Canterbury and York were forced to make the king a preſent of one hundred eighteen thouſand eight hundred and forty pounds.

This tranſaction happened in the year 1531; and Cromwell, ſoon after, had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, was made maſter of the Jewel

Office, with a ſalary of fifty pounds a year, and ſworn into the privy-council.

Having thus obtained a conſiderable degree of confidence and authority in the cabinet, he ſtrenuouſly exerted his influence in parliament, and with the king, to forward the Reformation. The parliament favouring his deſigns, in 1532 an act was paſſed againſt levying the *annates* or *firſt fruits*, a tax impoſed by the court of Rome, for confirming the inſtitution to benefices, and the conſecration of biſhops. And in 1533, another act was paſſed againſt all appeals to Rome in cauſes cognizable in the Engliſh eccleſiaſtical courts. As a reward for theſe ſignal ſervices, which increaſed the regal authority, Cromwell was made clerk of the Hanaper, and chancellor of the exchequer.

In 1534 Sir Thomas Cromwell arrived at the ſummit of miniſterial power in thoſe days, for he was made principal ſecretary of ſtate, with which office he held that of maſter of the Rolls; and at the ſame time he was elected chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge. To complete his good fortune, Anne Boleyn, who was an avowed friend to the Reformation, having been ſolemnly crowned queen of England; this event produced an open rupture with the court of Rome, Henry being excommunicated for not adhering to the papal deciſion in favour of the marriage with Catherine. Our proſperous ſtateſman wanted only ſuch a violent meaſure, to juſtify thoſe that he propoſed to take for the total ſuppreſſion of the papal authority and influence in England. Accordingly, this year, the parliament enacted, that all payments to the apoſtolic chamber ſhould be aboliſhed; that all monaſteries ſhould be ſubject to the viſitation and government of the king alone; the law for puniſhing heretics was altered in their favour; and it was declared to be no hereſy, to ſpeak or write againſt the pope's authority: in theſe regulations the convocation likewiſe concurred.

The

The following year Sir Thomas Cromwell was appointed Viſitor General of all the monaſteries, and other religious communities throughout England; and as this office was of too extenſive a nature to be executed by him in perſon, he nominated ſundry commiſſioners under him, who have been charged, by the Roman writers, with great exceſſes and cruelties in the exerciſe of their commiſſions. But no credit is to be given to the legends of the monks or their partiſans, who would not fail to blacken the characters of thoſe who openly expoſed the ſcenes of infamous lewdneſs, fraud, and oppreſſion, practiſed in the religious houſes, which were a diſhonour both to religion and humanity.

The king, from the informations daily laid before him concerning the ſcandalous lives of the monks and friars, judged it neceſſary to ſhew that Cromwell enjoyed his entire confidence and eſteem; he therefore gave him the cuſtody of the privy ſeal on the ſecond of July, 1536; on the ninth of the ſame month, he was made a peer, by the title of lord Cromwell, baron of Okeham in Rutlandſhire; and on the 18th he was advanced to a new dignity, unknown in the kingdom before this time, and which may be properly ſtyled the higheſt and the firſt under the Reformation. He was conſtituted Vicar-General and Vicegerent over all the ſpirituality under the king, now declared "Supreme Head of the Church." This high office gave him precedence next to the royal family; it ſubmitted all eccleſiaſtical cauſes to his juriſdiction; and gave him a ſeat in the convocation, as the king's repreſentative, above the archbiſhops.

A moſt unfavourable event however had taken place only a ſhort time before Cromwell's elevation to this important office, which might have proved fatal to the Reformation, if Henry's hopes of gain from the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries had not overcome his inward attachment to the Romiſh faith. Queen Anne

Boleyn

Boleyn had fallen a victim to his insatiable lust; for having indulged a passion for Jane Seymour, a lady of strict virtue, who would not listen to him on any other terms but those of ascending the throne, he encouraged an accusation of incontinence brought against the queen, founded solely on some personal levities in her conduct; upon which charge she was tried, unjustly condemned, and tyrannically put to death on the 19th of May, 1536; and, that no doubt might remain of the real motive, the king was married the very next day to Jane Seymour, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and one of the late queen's attendants.

This revolution revived the hopes of the Popish party, and obliged lord Cromwell to proceed with great caution in the exercise of the powers of his new office. However, he ventured this year to publish some articles of religion which differed in many essential points from the Roman catholic. Seven Sacraments were received in the church of Rome; but the new articles mentioned only three, namely, baptism, penance, and the eucharist. The Bible, the Apostle's, the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds, were made the standards of the religion of the state, and the doctrine of purgatory was declared to be doubtful. The clergy were likewise enjoined, by the vicegerent, to preach up the king's supremacy, and to prevent offerings of incense and kneeling to images, lest the vulgar should be led away by idolatry and superstition.

His next care was to encourage the translation of the Bible into English; and, when accomplished, he ordered a copy to be provided in every parish, at the expence of the minister and the parishioners, and to be placed in the churches, for the inspection of persons of every rank, as well laymen as clergy. Parents and guardians of youth were likewise ordered to teach them the Lord's prayer, the creed, the ten commandments, in their mother tongue.

As theſe meaſures directly ſtruck at the root of the Romiſh religion, and menaced its ſpeedy extirpation, a formidable party, headed by the Popiſh clergy, excited inſurrections in different parts of the kingdom; and the rebels of Yorkſhire had the inſolence to demand, that lord Cromwell ſhould be brought to condign puniſhment, as one of the ſubverters of the good laws of the realm; but theſe diſturbances, being quelled, were ſo far from alienating the affection of the king from him, that, in the year 1537, as a farther token of his eſteem, his majeſty conſtituted him chief juſtice itinerant of all the foreſts beyond Trent; and, on the 26th of Auguſt, the ſame year, he was inſtalled knight of the garter, as alſo dean of the cathedral church of Wells. In the following year, he obtained a grant of the caſtle and lordſhip of Okeham, in the county of Rutland, and was made conſtable of Careſbrook caſtle in the Iſle of Wight; and, as he had been ſo inſtrumental in pulling down the monaſteries for three years together, the king amply rewarded him for that ſervice, in the year 1539, with many noble manors and large eſtates, that were formerly the property of thoſe diſſolved houſes; and likewiſe advanced him to the dignities of earl of Eſſex and lord high chamberlain of England.

Cromwell's acceptance of theſe great honours drew upon him an additional weight of envy and ill-will: for there were then alive ſeveral branches of the noble family of Bourchier, the laſt earl of Eſſex, who broke his neck by a fall from a young unruly horſe; and theſe might juſtly think that they were entitled to the dignity of the late earl. The office of lord high chamberlain too had been for many years hereditary in the ancient and honourable family of the de Veres, earls of Oxford; ſo that, upon the death of John de Vere, lord chamberlain, the heirs of it could not but be highly incenſed againſt a perſon ſo meanly deſcended, for depriving them of what their anceſtors had ſo long enjoyed.

joyed. Add likewiſe, that, on the ſame day that lord Cromwell, was created earl of Eſſex, Gregory his ſon was, by his intereſt, made baron Cromwell of Okeham; he being on the 12th of March, 1540, put in commiſſion with others to ſell the abbey lands at twenty years purchaſe; which was a thing he adviſed the king to do, as the ſureſt way to ſtop the clamours of the people, to conciliate their affections, and bring them to an acquieſcence in the diſſolution of the monaſteries.

Lord Cromwell's proſperity had been hitherto uninterrupted; but ſuch is the uncertainty of human events; that his ruin was occaſioned by an unhappy precaution he took to ſecure his power; and the greater his exaltation, the more ſudden and fatal was his fall. In the year 1537 died queen Jane Seymour, two days after the birth of a prince, afterwards Edward VI. and Henry having overcome his real grief for the loſs of this favourite wife, in the year 1539, began to turn his thoughts upon a German alliance; and, as the Lutheran princes were extremely diſguſted againſt the emperor, on account of the perſecution of their religion, he hoped, by matching himſelf into one of thoſe families, to renew an amity which he regarded as uſeful to him. Cromwell joyfully ſeconded this motion; and perceiving that ſome of his biteereſt enemies, particularly Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, began to be more in favour at court than himſelf, he exerted his utmoſt endeavours to bring about a marriage between the king and Anne of Cleves: for he imagined that a queen of his own making would powerfully ſupport his intereſt; and, as the friends of Anne of Cleves were all proteſtants, their intereſt would aſſiſt him in deſtroying that of the popiſh faction, now prevailing again at court. But when Henry ſaw this princeſs, concerning whoſe perſon he had been deceived by a flattering picture, he declared ſhe was a great Flanders mare, and he could never bear her any affection.

tion. He married her, however, which Cromwell thought would be the means of reconciling him to to her; but when he came, full of anxious expectation the morning after the nuptials, to enquire how the king found his bride, he had the mortification to be told, that his majesty hated her worse than ever; that he was resolved never to cohabit with her, and even suspected her to be no maid. However, Henry continued to be civil to the new queen, and even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell; but though he exerted this command over his temper, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to break forth on the first opportunity: nor was it long before such a one offered as enabled him at once to gratify his resentment, and ingratiate himself with the public.

The meanness of Cromwell's birth had rendered him odious to all the nobility; the Roman catholics detested him, for having been so active in the dissolution of religious houses; and being encouraged by the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, they raised so violent a clamour against him, that Henry, who was now as ready to hearken to his accusers as he was before deaf to them, finding that several articles were ready to be brought against him, resolved to sacrifice him to that revengeful party, whose favour he was now courting on another account; which was a scheme he had planned, to marry Catherine Howard, the duke of Norfolk's niece, if by any means he could procure a divorce from the princess of Cleves; which Norfolk and Gardiner undertook to accomplish, if they were once fairly rid of Cromwell. Accordingly, the duke of Norfolk obtained a commission to arrest the earl of Essex at the council board, on the 10th of June, 1540, when he did not in the least suspect it. He was carried from the palace to the Tower, without knowing his accusers, or the crimes of which he was accused; yet, from his first commitment, he made no doubt of a design being laid against

againſt his life, becauſe the duke of Norfolk had always been his profeſſed enemy.

On the 17th of the ſame month, a bill of attainder againſt him was brought into the houſe of lords. He was accuſed of hereſy and treaſon; of ſetting perſons at liberty, convicted of miſpriſion of treaſon, without the king's aſſent; of receiving bribes; and of having granted licences to carry corn, money, horſes, and other things out of the kingdom, contrary to the king's proclamation. But what ſufficiently ſhewed the ſpirit of the party, was a charge of having diſperſed many erroneous books among the king's ſubjects, contrary to the belief of the ſacraments. Several other things were alledged, equally frivolous, and though he had cleared himſelf from every accuſation in letters to the king during his confinement; yet, when brought to his trial, if it may be called ſuch, barely to hear the charge, he was not ſuffered to ſpeak in his own defence, and the bill of attainder paſſed both houſes, after ſome alterations made in the lower houſe, where it was retarded ten days.

"It is plain to perceive," ſays Burnet, "that moſt of the articles of his impeachment related to orders and directions he had given, for which, it is very probable, he had the king's warrant. And, for the matter of hereſy, the king had proceeded ſo far towards a reformation, that what he did that way was, in all probability, done by the king's orders: but the king now falling from theſe things, it was thought they intended to ſtifle him by ſuch an attainder, that he might not diſcover the ſecret orders or directions he had given him for his own juſtification. For the particulars of bribery and extortion, with which he was alſo charged, they being mentioned in general expreſſions, ſeem only caſt into the heap to defame him. But for treaſonable words which were alledged againſt him, it was generally thought, that they were a contrivance of his enemies; ſince it ſeemed a thing very extravagant,

extravagant, for a favourite in the height of his greatneſs, to talk ſo rudely, that if he had been guilty of it, Bedlam was a fitter place for his reſtraint than the Tower. Nor was it judged likely, that, he having ſuch great and watchful enemies at court, any ſuch diſcourſes ſhould have lain ſo long ſecret; or, if they had come to the king's knowledge, he was not a prince of ſuch a temper as to have forgiven, much leſs employed and advanced a man, after ſuch diſcourſes. And to think, that, during fifteen months after the words were ſaid to have been ſpoken, none would have had the zeal for the king, or the malice to Cromwell, to repeat them, were things that could not be believed."

The earl of Eſſex had, in his fall, the common fate of all diſgraced miniſters: to be forſaken by his friends, and inſulted by his enemies. Archbiſhop Cranmer alone did not abandon him in his diſtreſs, but wrote to the king very warmly in his behalf. In his letter he expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe: "Who cannot but be ſorrowful and amazed, that he ſhould be a traitor againſt your majeſty; he, that was ſo advanced by your majeſty: he, whoſe ſurety was only by your majeſty; he, who loved your majeſty (as I ever thought) no leſs than God; he, who ſtudied always to ſet forward whatſoever was your majeſty's will and pleaſure; he that cared for no man's diſpleaſure to ſerve your majeſty; he that was ſuch a ſervant, in my judgement, in wiſdom, diligence, faithfulneſs, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had; he that was ſo vigilant to preſerve your majeſty from all treaſons, that few could be ſo ſecretly conceived, but he detected the ſame in the beginning? If the noble princes, of happy memory, king John, Henry II. and Richard II. had had ſuch a counſellor about them, I ſuppoſe they ſhould never have been ſo traiterouſly abandoned and overthrown as thoſe good princes were."

But the duke of Norfolk, and the reſt of the Popiſh party, baffled all the application that was made in favour of the earl of Eſſex, who in purſuance of his attainder was ſentenced to be beheaded on Tower-hill, the 28th of July, 1540. Upon the ſcaffold, in tenderneſs to his ſon, he avoided all complaints againſt his enemies; and, inſtead of vindicating himſelf, by a happy turn of thought, he acknowledged that he had offended God by his ſins, and thus merited death. He prayed for the king, and the prince, and then told the people, that he died in the catholic faith; but by this he evidently meant, the faith eſtabliſhed by the new articles on the ſcriptures; and this is confirmed, notwithſtanding the aſſertions of Popiſh authors, by his praying in Engliſh and to God through Chriſt, without any invocation of the Virgin Mary, or the ſaints.

After a ſhort time paſſed in private devotions, he gave the ſignal to the executioner, who, being either unſkilful or timid, cruelly mangled the unfortunate victim.

Thus fell Thomas Cromwell, earl of Eſſex; a ſtateſman of great abilities, joined with uncommon application to buſineſs. He had the public welfare at heart, which he purſued with great vigour and perſeverance; but he ſometimes extended the royal prerogative, at the expence of civil liberty. In his perſon he was comely; in his deportment manly and graceful; and, though raiſed from a low to the moſt elevated ſtation, his character was free from pride, or arrogance. He was courteous and affable; eaſy of acceſs; a friend to the poor and diſtreſſed; and remarkably charitable, no leſs than 200 perſons being fed twice every day at his houſe in Throgmorton-ſtreet. To his dependents and domeſtics he was a kind and liberal maſter; and for his gratitude to his friends and benefactors, he was an example highly worthy of imitation.

*** *Authorities.* Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. Britiſh Biography, &c.

THE

THE LIFE OF

THOMAS HOWARD,

DUKE OF NORFOLK,

(With Memoirs of his family, particularly Sir EDWARD HOWARD, Lord High Admiral of England.)

(A. D. 1492, to 1547.)

THIS nobleman having gained an aſcendancy over the king for a ſhort time, upon the fall of the earl of Eſſex, and the elevation of Catherine Howard his niece to be queen conſort, the reader is preſented in this place with the few memoirs we have of him upon record, in order to preſerve a regular chain of hiſtorical facts, from the acceſſion to the death of Henry VIII.

The progenitor of this illuſtrious family was John Howard, created duke of Norfolk by Richard III. in 1483, who at the ſame time created his ſon Thomas Howard earl of Surrey; but the duke being ſlain fighting on the part of Richard at the battle of Boſworth Field, and his ſon being in the ſame ſervice, his title was forfeited on the acceſſion of Henry VII. However, in the fourth year of the reign of this prince, he was ſo far reſtored to the king's favour, that he appointed him to be one of his privy-council, and permitted him to reſume the title of earl of Surrey, and to take his ſeat in the houſe of peers. Afterwards, becoming very uſeful to the king in ſuppreſſing the inſurrections of the Scots, he was made lord treaſurer of England in 1499, about which time his two ſons, Thomas and Edward, began to be known at court, but the date of their birth is not aſcertained. In the firſt year of Henry VIII. the father, being continued high treaſurer, was likewiſe made Earl Marſhal of England: he attended the king at the ſieges of Terouenne

and Tournay; and upon his return to England was appointed general againſt the Scots, whom he defeated at the famous battle of Floudon Field, in 1513. His eldeſt ſon Thomas, whoſe life we are now entering upon, and Edmund Howard, a third ſon, ſerved under him in this battle; which proved fatal to the Scots, their ſovereign, James IV. being ſlain in the action.

In conſideration of the gallant ſervices performed by the earl of Surrey and his ſons, their father had the title of duke of Norfolk conferred upon him, and his eldeſt ſon was created earl of Surrey; by which creation he took his ſeat in the houſe of peers, not as the duke's ſon but in his own right.

Here we muſt leave him for the preſent, while we do honour to the memory of his ſecond brother Sir Edward Howard, a gallant naval officer, who ſo early as 1492, diſcovered a deciſive inclination for the ſea-ſervice, having embarked as a volunteer on board the fleet commanded by Sir Edward Poynings, and ſent by Henry VII. to aſſiſt the duke of Burgundy againſt his rebellious ſubjects. For his ſignal bravery in this expedition, he had the honour of a knighthood conferred upon him; and on the acceſſion of Henry VIII. he made choice of Sir Edward to be his ſtandard-bearer, a moſt diſtinguiſhed officer in thoſe days.

In 1511, Sir Edward Howard, by the recommendation and intereſt of his father, who was then of the privy-council, was appointed by the king to command two ſhips, commiſſioned to clear the narrow ſeas of Scotch pirates, the moſt notorious of whom was one Sir Andrew Barton, ſuſpected to be countenanced by James IV. of Scotland. In this expedition, his eldeſt brother, then Sir Thomas Howard, ſerved under him, and, being ſeparated by a ſtorm, had the honour of engaging the Scotch ſhip commanded by Barton, who was killed in the engagement; but Sir Edward took Barton's other ſhip, and both were brought triumphantly into the river Thames.

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The following year, Sir Edward Howard was made lord high-admiral of England, in which capacity he performed ſignal ſervices againſt the French, with whom Henry was then at war; and in 1513 he put to ſea with forty-two ſhips of the line, and forced the French fleet to take ſhelter in the harbour of Breſt. Upon intelligence of the event, the king of France ordered Pregent, one of his ableſt naval officers, to ſail from Toulon, with a ſquadron of gallies, to endeavour to join the Breſt fleet, and then to engage the Engliſh. Sir Edward Howard, having information of this deſign, formed a plan for burning the French fleet in the harbour, before the arrival of Pregent; but, willing to let the king have the honour of commanding in perſon at the execution of an enterpriſe the ſucceſs of which he did not in the leaſt doubt, he wrote home to that effect; but, his letter being laid before the council, it was reſolved to be an imprudent meaſure, to adviſe the king to venture his perſon in ſuch a dangerous attempt: the anſwer to Sir Edward was therefore couched rather in terms of reproof from the council, ordering him to do his duty, and not ſeek excuſes. The admiral's bravery being, long before this event, firmly eſtabliſhed, he was greatly mortified at this rebuke; and perhaps it was owing to this circumſtance, that he put in practice his conſtant maxim, "that a ſeaman never did good, who was not reſolute to a degree of madneſs;" for, ſoon after, he made an attempt to enter the harbour with 1500 men in boats; but, the French coming down to the number of ten thouſand to line the ſhore, he abandoned this deſign, and engaged in another not leſs brave, but equally raſh. Receiving intelligence, that Pregent was arrived in *Conquete Bay*, a little below Breſt, with ſix gallies and four tenders, watching an opportunity to get into Breſt; he manned the only two gallies he had in his fleet with ſome of his braveſt men, and with two row-barges and two tenders entered the bay. A briſk gale bringing them

very ſoon along-ſide of the enemy, Sir Edward Howard, having grappled his galley to that of the fourth admiral, reſolutely boarded her, accompanied only by eighteen Engliſhmen and one Spaniard: but unfortunately the grappling tackle either ſlipped or was cut away, by which means his galley was turned adrift, before any more of his men could board the enemy; he and his followers were left to the mercy of the French admiral, and, diſdaining to ſubmit, were puſhed over-board by the ſoldiers with their pikes, and periſhed in the ſea. Such was the untimely fate of the brave Sir Edward Howard: who was ſucceeded in his office of high admiral by his eldeſt brother Sir Thomas, who revenged Sir Edward's death on the French, by clearing the ſeas ſo effectually of the ſhips of that nation, that not a veſſel durſt appear. He alſo ravaged the coaſts of Britanny; and for that and other ſervices he was, as we have obſerved, created a peer, in 1514.

The ſame year a peace being concluded with France, the new earl of Surrey had no opportunity to exerciſe his military abilities till 1519, when the affairs of Ireland requiring the preſence of an able general, to quell the inſurrections and bloody conteſts of the chiefs, he was appointed lord deputy of that kingdom; which office he executed with ſuch vigour and addreſs, that, without proceeding to any great ſeverities, he ſuppreſſed the rebellion of the earl of Deſmond, humbled the O'Neals and O'Carrols, and reſtored public tranquillity; which gained him the eſteem and veneration of the people.

In 1522, he was recalled to take the command of the combined fleets of Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V. theſe princes having declared war againſt France, and entered into a cloſe alliance. The earl of Surrey ſailed with the united fleets for the coaſt of Normandy; and, landing ſome troops at Cherburgh, they ravaged all the adjacent country, and being reembarked the fleets returned to Portland. But, in a

ſhort

ſhort time after, the admiral invaded Britanny, took the town of Morlaix by aſſault, pillaged it, and burnt ſeventeen ſail of French ſhips; and then made for the port of Southampton, where he arrived in ſafety, with a very conſiderable booty. At Southampton he found the Emperor Charles V. who had made a ſhort viſit to Henry, ready to embark for Spain. The earl of Surrey therefore gave the command of the fleets to the vice admiral Sir William Fitz-Williams, afterwards earl of Southampton, with cruiſing orders; while he ſhould convoy the emperor, in his own ſhip, to the port of St Andero, in Biſcay.

In the following year, upon the reſignation of the aged duke of Norfolk his father, he was made lord high treaſurer; and about the ſame time the king nominated him general of the army then raiſing to invade Scotland. The duke of Albany was regent of Scotland at this period, for James V. a minor; but the earl of Surrey made ſuch devaſtation in the ſhires of Tweedale and March, that before the end of the year he was glad to ſolicit for a truce, which Henry having granted, the earl of Surrey returned to England, and the army was diſbanded.

Hiſtorians fix the death of his father nearly at this period, to whoſe title and remaining honours he ſucceeded: for the king thereupon granted the new duke of Norfolk the high office of Earl Marſhal of England.

In 1524, he attended the king to France, and was ſent ambaſſador extraordinary to Francis I. upon the occaſion of that monarch's intended interview with the pope. From this time, we meet with no tranſaction worthy our notice reſpecting the duke, except the ſteady oppoſition he made to Cromwell's adminiſtration; but, when the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries had cauſed an open rebellion in the North, we find him again called forth in 1537 to aſſiſt the earl of Shrewſbury, who had the chief command in ſuppreſſing

ſing it; and though obliged, in his military capacity, to act againſt the people whoſe cauſe he had at heart, for he was a violent enemy to the Reformation, he ſeems from this time, in his quality of a courtier, to have ſet every engine at work to ruin Cromwell. This point being accompliſhed, through the female influence of his niece Catherine Howard, the duke, in conjunction with Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, once more raiſed the expectations of the Popiſh party, by exciting the king to revive the perſecution of heretics, and to enforce the obſervance of the ſix bloody articles of religion. Much about the ſame time, they laid a plot to take off archbiſhop Cranmer, the only remaining champion for the Reformation in any credit at court; but of this more ample mention will be made in the life of Cranmer.

The laſt military ſervice performed by the duke of Norfolk, was his commanding an army againſt the Scots in the latter end of the year 1542, war having been declared againſt James V. who died ſoon after. Upon this expedition, he gave freſh proofs of his bravery, and of his eminent abilities as a general.

But the diſcovery of the queen's incontinence, which had been followed by her conviction and execution, the beginning of this year, had given the enemies of the duke, and of the Popiſh cauſe, an opportunity, during his abſence in Scotland, to fill the king's mind with alarming ſuſpicions, whoſe fears and jealouſies increaſed as his health declined. It was ſuggeſted, that the duke of Norfolk was a popular man; and that he, and his ſon Henry Earl of Surrey, had formed a deſign to ſeize the perſon of the king, to engroſs the adminiſtration of the government, and probably to ſet aſide the ſucceſſion of prince Edward, upon the ſtrength of the ſtatute by which the iſſue of Anne Boleyn had been declared illegitimate. Conſidering the power and influence of the duke and his ſon with the adherents to the old religion, who formed the majority throughout the kingdom,

kingdom, a prince, leſs ſubject to jealouſy than Henry, might have been juſtified in having a watchful eye over the duke, eſpecially as he had the chief command of the army. But nothing could juſtify his tyrannic proceedings, after it fully appeared that no criminal charge could be maintained againſt either the duke or his ſon.

After his return from Scotland, the duke of Norfolk found a viſible alteration in the king's conduct towards him. He was no longer ſummoned to attend the cabinet council; and having complained of this privately to Mrs Holland, his miſtreſs, ſhe brought this in evidence againſt him, with ſome other trifling ſpeeches made to her in confidence, which amounted to no more than the innocent repinings of a ſlighted courtier. But, unfortunately for the young earl of Surrey, he had frequently expreſſed his deteſtation of this woman, who now ſcrupled no forgeries to accompliſh his ruin. A quarrel likewiſe ſubſiſted between the duke and his ducheſs, on account of the duke's open infidelity to the marriage-bed, which ſhe had the cruelty to revenge by joining his accuſers and avowed enemies. In conſequence of the informations given in to the council againſt them, the duke and his ſon were arreſted for high treaſon, and committed to the Tower. Here the duke, according to the king's uſual cuſtom, was treated with great rigour, being obliged to petition the council to be allowed ſome books; and at length, in the courſe of his confinement, he was obliged to ſolicit for a change of ſheets; ſo little regard did the unfeeling monarch ſhew to the high rank and great merit of this old and faithful ſervant.

In hopes of obtaining a pardon, or greater indulgence in his confinement, the duke meanly made his ſubmiſſion to the king in a pathetic letter, and ſigned a confeſſion, which haſtened the fate of his ſon: for he acknowledged it as his greateſt crime, that he had concealed the manner in which his ſon bore his coat of arms; thereby acknowledging ſuch bearing to be a crime.

crime. It ſeems the earl of Surrey quartered the arms of England with thoſe of Norfolk, as a deſcendent of Edward IV. his mother, the duke's firſt wife, being the daughter of that monarch. The earl's half-ſiſter, the ducheſs of Richmond, and his ſtep-mother the ducheſs of Norfolk, uſed their joint endeavours to cut off this unfortunate youth; the former giving in evidence, that her brother had a crown, inſtead of an earl's coronet, to his arms on his ſeals, and a cypher which had the appearance of the royal ſignet. On theſe frivolous charges he was tried by an ignorant jury of commoners at Guild-hall, found guilty of high treaſon, and beheaded on Tower-hill the 19th of January, 1547. This accompliſhed youth was no leſs valiant than learned, and of excellent hopes. He was a lover of the Muſes, and a reformer of Engliſh poetry.

It was intended that the duke ſhould ſhare the ſame fate in a few days, the bill of attainder having paſſed the Houſe of Lords; but in the Houſe of Commons, fortunately for him, it met with ſome delay: but the king perceiving his own end approaching, and deſirous to ſend Norfolk out of the world firſt, that he might not diſturb the reign of his ſucceſſor, commanded the Commons to haſten the bill; upon which it was paſſed, and the royal aſſent being given by commiſſion, the king being too weak to ſign it, the duke's execution was fixed for the 29th; but on the morning of the 28th of Jannary, 1547, Henry expired, in the 56th year of his age, and the 38th of his reign; by which the warrant became null and void; and the council judging it highly imprudent to commence a new reign with the death of ſo popular a nobleman, his ſentence was not carried into execution.

We have now conducted the reader to the cloſe of the turbulent reign of Henry VIII. and as the thread of hiſtory requires us to enter upon that of his ſucceſſor Edward VI. we muſt beg leave to conſider the duke of Norfolk as dead in law at this period; which

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was the caſe during the whole reign of Edward VI. for he was not releaſed from the Tower, nor his attainder taken off, till the acceſſion of Queen Mary, in the beginning of whoſe reign his natural death happened, in an advanced age.

But it muſt likewiſe be remembered, that we have not taken leave of the age of Henry VIII. to which we ſhall be obliged to return, in tracing the early tranſactions of ſome eminent men, who began to flouriſh under him, but who roſe to the ſummit of reputation, and finiſhed their career of earthly glory, in the reigns of his ſucceſſors, Edward and Mary.

The ſtudent in hiſtory, we apprehend, will be much better pleaſed, and find it more to his advantage, to caſt a retroſpect on paſt events regularly connected, than, for the ſake of one life, extended to an extraordinary length, (ſuch as archbiſhop Cranmer's) to confuſe the whole ſeries of hiſtory during three reigns, by introducing it too early.

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Rapin's Hiſtory of England. Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian. Britiſh Biography.

THE LIFE OF

EDWARD SEYMOUR,

DUKE OF SOMERSET.

(Including Memoirs of his brother, Sir THOMAS SEYMOUR, Lord SUDLEY.)

(A. D. 1537, to 1552.)

EDWARD SEYMOUR was the ſon of Sir John Seymour, and brother to Jane Seymour, third wife

wife of Henry VIII. and mother of Edward VI. No mention is made of this gentleman in hiſtory till after the death of the queen his ſiſter, when the king, in honour to the memory of this amiable lady, and intending that the prince ſhould always have ſo near a relation about his perſon, created him earl of Hertford, in 1537. He had, indeed, been made a peer, upon the king's marriage, by the title of Viſcount Beauchamp; but he neither held any diſtinguiſhed rank, nor enjoyed any confidential office at court, till he was earl of Hertford. Even for ſome time after, the intereſt of the duke of Norfolk and his friends prevailed ſo far againſt his promotion, that he did not enjoy any conſiderable ſhare of the king's confidence till after the diſgrace of that nobleman; but in 1546 he was appointed lord chamberlain.

Upon the death of Henry, the earl of Hertford repaired to Enfield, where his nephew, the new ſovereign, reſided, to inform him of his father's deceaſe, and to conduct him to London; where, being a prince of the moſt amiable endowments, and of whom the people had conceived the higheſt expectations, he was received with unuſual demonſtrations of joy; and his acceſſion was conſidered as the æra of deliverance from tyrannic cruelty, and bloody religious perſecution.

As Edward VI. was not yet ten years of age, his father had appointed ſixteen executors, to whom, during the minority, was entruſted the whole regal authority. But it was ſuggeſted, after Henry's death, that it muſt be very troubleſome for the people, and eſpecially for foreign miniſters, to be under a neceſſity of applying to ſixteen perſons of equal authority, and it was propoſed that ſome one ſhould be choſen head and preſident, with the title of protector. This motion was vigorouſly oppoſed by the lord chancellor Wriotheſly, who eaſily perceived that the dignity would be conferred on the earl of Hertford, by which means his own power, being by his office, as things then

then ſtood, the ſecond perſon in the regency, would ſuffer great diminution. But the earl had ſo great a party in the council, that the queſtion being put, it was carried in the affirmative; and it was unanimouſly agreed, on account of his relation to the king, and his experience in ſtate affairs, that he ſhould be declared regent and governor of the king's perſon; which was accordingly done; but with this expreſs condition, that he ſhould not undertake or perform any thing without the conſent of all the other executors to Henry's will.

The lord chancellor, who made the greateſt oppoſition to the earl of Hertford's advancement, could expect but little favour from the new protector. The jealouſy that ſubſiſted between them ſoon became very conſpicuous; and the nation, being then divided between thoſe who were attached to the old ſuperſtition, and thoſe who deſired a compleat reformation, the protector ſet himſelf at the head of the latter party, and the lordchancellor of the former; and, ſhortly after, the protector was created duke of Somerſet, at the ſame time that others of the regents and counſellors had new dignities conferred on them, upon the teſtimony of certain witneſſes, to whom king Henry, juſt before his death, had opened his mind, concerning the honours he propoſed to confer on thoſe he diſtinguiſhed with ſo high a truſt. But beſides the ſecular honours conferred on the duke of Somerſet, we are informed by biſhop Burnet, that he had ſix good prebends promiſed him; two of theſe being afterwards converted into a deanery and treaſurerſhip: and on the ſixth of February, 1547, he knighted the king, being empowered ſo do by letters patent. For as the laws of chivalry required that the king ſhould receive knighthood from the hands of ſome other knight, ſo it was judged too great a preſumption for his own ſubject to give it, without a warrant under the great ſeal.

The lord chancellor Wriotheſly earl of Southampton was, as has been already obſerved, the protector's adverſary,

verſary, and a great enemy to the Reformation. The protector therefore wiſhed to remove him, as did likewiſe the major part of the regents; and he ſoon afforded them a plauſible pretence. Reſolving to apply himſelf chiefly to affairs of ſtate, he had, on the 18th of February, put the great ſeal into commiſſion, directed to the maſter of the rolls, and three maſters in chancery, empowering them to execute the lord chancellor's office in the court of chancery in as ample a manner as if he himſelf were preſent. This being done by his own authority, without any warrant from the lord protector and the other regents, complaint was made to the council, and it was ordered, that the judges ſhould give their opinions concerning the caſe, in writing. Their anſwer was, that the chancellor being only entruſted with his office, he could not commit the exerciſe thereof to others, without the royal conſent, that by ſo doing he had by the common law forfeited his place, and was liable to fine and impriſonment during the king's pleaſure. The chancellor fell into a great paſſion with the judges on this opinion being delivered in council; and he went ſo far as to tell the protector, that he held his office of lord chancellor by an undoubted authority, ſince he held it from the king himſelf; whereas it was a great queſtion whether he was lawfully protector. But this haughtineſs accelerating his diſgrace, he was immediately confined to his houſe till farther orders. Then it was debated what his puniſhment ſhould be: it was not judged expedient to diveſt him of his ſhare in the regency; but, to render it uſeleſs to him, he was left under an arreſt, and the great ſeal was taken from him, and given to Sir William Pawlet lord St John, till another chancellor ſhould be appointed. He remained in confinement till the 19th of July, 1547; when he was releaſed, upon entering into a recognizance of four thouſand pounds, to pay whatever fine the court ſhould think fit to impoſe upon him.

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After the protector had got rid of this troublesome rival, he resolved to obtain the sole administration of the government; and with this view he represented to the regents and the council, that it was controverted by several persons, whether they could, by their sole authority, name a protector; that the French ambassador in particular had hinted, that he did not think he could safely treat with him, without knowing whether he was duly authorised, since his title might be contested, for the want of authority in those who had conferred it. To obviate this difficulty, the protector and the council, on the 13th of March, 1547, petitioned the king, that they might act by a commission under the great seal, which might authorize and justify their proceedings. This patent being drawn and the great seal set to it, the protector became absolute, having the council, which consisted of his own friends, at command. But, on the other hand, this step, with some others of the like nature which he made afterwards, drew upon him the ill-will and envy of many persons, particularly the nobility, who, in the end, made him feel the effects of their resentment. The intrigues of the courtiers were however suspended for the present by national concerns of a more important nature.

Henry VIII. had earnestly recommended it to his successor, to effectuate, if possible, the design which he had formed to unite the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, by a marriage between his son and Mary the young queen of Scotland, daughter of James V. then an infant, and afterwards too well known in history by her crimes and her misfortunes. A treaty for this marriage had been ratified by the regent and parliament of Scotland; but, in a month after, the regent, the earl of Arran, secretly joined the party of cardinal Beatoun, who was in the interest of France, and suddenly renounced the treaty with England. In resentment of this perfidious conduct, Henry declared war

againſt that nation, two years before his death. The protector, therefore, now prepared to carry it on again with vigour, and, having raiſed an army of 18,000 men, he marched into Scotland, accompanied by the earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northumberland, and his ſucceſſor in the miniſtry, who was his lieutenant-general. On his arrival in Scotland, the protector publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he urged many reaſons to induce the Scots to conſent to the marriage, but theſe having no effect, hoſtilities immediately enſued.

The earl of Arran had collected together the whole force of Scotland, to oppoſe the Engliſh army: but, though the Scots brought near double the number of forces into the field, the Engliſh gained a complete victory in the famous battle of Pinky or Muſſelburgh, fought on the 10th of September, 1547. According to the moſt moderate computation, the Scotch had 10,000 ſlain, and the Engliſh not 200. After this victory, the protector marched to Edinburgh, which he took and burnt; and then having taken Leith, with ſeveral other places of inferior note, he retired from Scotland, leaving the earl of Warwick to command the army, with full powers to treat with the regent's commiſſioners, who now ſued for peace; but this was only an artifice, to gain time for the arrival of ſuccours from France, and therefore no commiſſioners appeared.

The political talents of the protector were by no means equal to his ambition, or the high ſtation he held; and having created a number of enemies among the nobility, and the reſt of the late king's executors, whom he had excluded from the regency, by aſſuming the ſole power, cabals were formed againſt him during his abſence in Scotland. The intelligence ſent to him by his friends of theſe intrigues, increaſed the errors of his conduct in that expedition; for, inſtead of purſuing the advantages that his victory had given him, by proceeding to Stirling, where he might have got poſſeſſion of the young queen, and thus have terminated the war,

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he precipitately haſtened to England, and implicitly left the army under the command of a nobleman, who did not wiſh ſucceſs to any enterpriſe which would increaſe the protector's power or popularity.

Somerſet's enemies unfortunately found a proper tool, to accompliſh his ruin, in his own family. Sir Thomas Seymour, his youngeſt brother, had been left in England, a man of an envious and haughty diſpoſition. He thought it hard that he ſhould only be a privy-counſellor, when the king had made his brother one of the regents. He imagined, that, being uncle to the king, he was intitled to much higher honour; and though, at his nephew's coronation, he was created lord Sudley, and in the ſame year was conſtituted lord high admiral of England, he was miſled by the flattering deluſions of ambition. Indeed, the admiral immediately after Henry's death, diſcovered his aſpiring temper, by paying his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth; but, meeting with a repulſe, he ſolicited Catherine Parr, the queen dowager, and, having obtained her conſent, married her privately, without communicating it to the duke his brother. But at length, finding means to procure a letter from the king, recommending him to the queen for a huſband, as ſoon as he got this letter, he declared his private marriage, without giving himſelf any trouble about his brother. Hence their quarrel firſt took riſe: but the protector, who was endowed with one quality eſſential to a courtier, moderation, did his utmoſt to prevent their quarrel from breaking out, though he all along entertained ſecret ſuſpicions of his brother.

It is beyond a doubt, that the protector's ſecret enemies fomented the admiral's ambition, by the praiſes they beſtowed upon him, confirming him in the ill opinion he had entertained of the duke his brother. He began his cabals, by gaining over the king's ſervants to his intereſt, that they might eſpouſe his cauſe with their young maſter, and endeavour to make him

continue his good opinion of him. By their affiſtance he ſo contrived it, that the king frequently came to his houſe, to viſit the admiral's wife. He ſtrictly enjoined the king's ſervants, whom he had corrupted to let him know when his majeſty had occaſion for money, telling them, that they need not always trouble the treaſury, for he would be ready to furniſh him. By ſuch practices, lord Sudley, who was as ambitious, but not ſo honeſt as his brother, ſupplanted the protector in the king's eſteem; and, to add to the duke's misfortune, a violent quarrel happened between his ducheſs and the admiral's lady, the latter expecting from her former rank, and her peerage in her own right, not only the precedence, but that the ducheſs ſhould bear her train, which ſhe abſolutely refuſed, being, according to Sir John Haywood, a woman for many imperfections intolerable, but for her pride monſtrous.

The enemies of the Seymours, therefore, deſpairing of a total rupture between the two brothers, ſo ſtrongly united by blood and intereſt, by any other methods, accompliſhed the ruin of both by practiſing on their wives, whoſe animoſity overcame the ties of blood, and whoſe pride ſuperſeded their common intereſt.

The admiral, upon his brother's return, refuſed to liſten to his private remonſtrances againſt his ambitious projects, which he aſſured him could only end in his ruin; but Sudley, deaf to his intreaties, now adopted a meaſure which obliged the protector to treat him as an open enemy, and perturbator of the public tranquillity. He repreſented to the young king, that his predeceſſors, being minors, had governors of their royal perſons independent on, and diſtinct from the protectors of the realm; and the eaſy, credulous prince, who was grown fond of Sudley, from his condeſcenſion and indulgence, being unable to reflect deeply, from his tender age, on a propoſal highly agreeable to his own inclinations, imprudently wrote with his own hand

hand a meſſage to the houſe of commons, deſiring them to make the admiral the governor of his perſon. This Sudley intended to have carried himſelf to the houſe, where he had a party, by whoſe means he was confident of carrying his point. He practiſed alſo with many of the nobility to aſſiſt him in it; but, when his deſign took air, the council ſent a deputation to him in his brother's name, to reaſon the caſe with him, and to prevail with him to proceed no farther. To this he arrogantly replied, that, if he was croſſed in his attempt, he would make the blackeſt parliament that ever was in England: whereupon he was ſent for the next day, by order from the council, but refuſed to come. He was then ſeverely threatened, and told, that the king's writing was nothing in law; but that he, who had procured it, was liable to be puniſhed for having obtained it; and it was reſolved to diveſt him of all his offices, to ſend him to the Tower, and to proſecute him for attempting to diſturb the government. This menace terrified him; for he plainly ſaw, that though he had the king on his ſide, a young prince, who was but juſt entered into his eleventh year, would not have reſolution enough to ſupport him, contrary to the advice of the protector and the council. He choſe, therefore, to ſubmit himſelf, and his brother and he ſeemed perfectly reconciled. But though he ſeemed to have laid aſide his ambitious projects for the preſent, he only deferred the execution of them till a more favourable opportunity.

The ſucceſs of the campaign in Scotland, though conſidered as imperfect by profound politicians, gained the protector freſh credit with the people; and his popularity tempted him to neglect cultivating the eſteem of the nobility, whoſe envy his conduct daily increaſed. For availing himſelf of the powers granted him by the patent, he adviſed with ſuch members of the council only as were devoted to his intereſt, treating the reſt as mere cyphers. The beſt reaſon

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that can be aſſigned for this conduct, is his great zeal for the Reformation. This made him think it neceſſary to remove from the adminiſtration thoſe who were averſe to its progreſs, that he might leſſen their oppoſition as much as poſſible. The catholic party, to ſtrengthen their intereſt, engaged the princeſs Mary and the diſcontented lord to eſpouſe their cauſe: and the princeſs wrote to the protector, to let him know, that ſhe looked upon all innovations in religion, till the king came of age, to be incompatible with the reſpect due to her father's memory, and equally ſo with their duty to their young maſter, as they thereby diſturbed the peace of his kingdom, and engaged his authority in ſuch points before he was capable of forming a judgment concerning them. Some days before the meeting of the parliament in the year 1548, the lord Rich was made lord chancellor; and on the third of November, the day before the opening of the parliament, the protector, by a patent under the great ſeal, was warranted to ſit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, under the cloth of ſtate, whether the king was preſent or not, and inveſted with all the honours and privileges that any of the uncles of the kings of England, or any protector, had ever enjoyed. The parliament, acting now under the influence of the protector, was this year very favourable to the Reformation, particularly in paſſing an act to aboliſh private maſſes, and to grant the cup to the people in the communion.

The reſtleſs diſpoſition of the lord Admiral broke forth again, this year, upon an alteration which happened in his family. In the month of September the queen dowager his wife died in child-bed, but not without ſuſpicion of poiſon; for the admiral had formed a deep deſign to become the head of the proteſtant party, by eſpouſing the princeſs Elizabeth. The deceaſed queen was an amiable woman, whoſe conduct in every other reſpect, but her marriage with the admiral,

miral, too ſoon after the king's death, had been perfectly blameleſs, but ſhe was a bigoted Roman catholic, and Sudley imagined, that this prejudiced the people againſt him, and in favour of his brother.

Soon after her death, therefore, he renewed his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth, but without ſucceſs; however, the attempt occaſioned an act for declaring the marriage of the king's ſiſters, without the conſent of the council, to be treaſon. Finding himſelf baffled in this ſcheme, he formed a deſign to carry away the king to his houſe at Holt, to diſpoſſeſs the protector, and to ſeize the government himſelf. For this end, he laid in magazines of arms, and liſted about two thouſand, others ſay, ten thouſand men, in ſeveral different places. He likewiſe entered into an aſſociation with ſeveral of the nobility, who envied his brother's greatneſs, and were not diſpleaſed to ſee the difference between them grown irreconcileable.

Moſt hiſtorians agree, that the protector being informed of all his proceedings, ſhewed himſelf extremely patient towards him, and refuſed to carry things to extremity, till he ſaw plainly, that one or other muſt inevitably be ruined. But, as Rapin juſtly obſerves, we cannot entirely rely upon what hiſtorians ſay of the admiral's private deſigns, or of the protector's forbearance; for as ſome make it their buſineſs to blacken the protector's reputation as much as poſſible, ſo others ſtrive to vindicate all his actions. It is, however, out of diſpute, that the admiral was not ſatisfied with his condition, and at laſt, his ambition appearing incurable, he was on the 19th of January 1549, committed to the Tower. The day following, the ſeal of his office was ſent for, and put into ſecretary Smith's hands: after which, many things appeared againſt him; but his fate was ſuſpended for the preſent.

In the mean time, the war with Scotland occaſioned the protector great uneaſineſs. He was very ſenſible, that it was a ridiculous thing to think of getting the

the king's marriage with the queen of Scotland, accompliſhed by force of arms, for he knew France was preparing to ſend them a very powerful aid; and therefore he ſaw plainly, that it would be a very hard taſk to ſucceed in this undertaking. Beſides, it was very likely that this war would occaſion a rupture with France, an event that would neceſſarily retard the progreſs of the Reformation. He would have been very glad, if the regent of Scotland would have accepted a ten years truce, which he propoſed to him; but, a powerful ſuccour being expected from France, it was rejected. The protector was therefore forced, againſt his will, to continue the war; but, as he did not chuſe to put himſelf at the head of the army, he gave the command of it to Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, whom he appointed his lieutenant. On this occaſion he plainly diſcovered, that he intended to ſtretch the prerogatives of the protectorſhip as high as they could go, ſince he obliged the earl to hold his commiſſion from him. However, as the patent he had obtained the 13th of March laſt year did not ſo clearly give him the power of nominating his own lieutenant, he ordered another to be prepared, wherein his prerogatives were more fully explained and enlarged.

In this war, which was now carried on with but indifferent ſucceſs, the protector made uſe of ſome German troops: which raiſed great murmurings againſt him; for it was eaſy to perceive, that the protector's aim was to ſtrengthen his perſonal authority by the aid of theſe foreigners; and therefore this ſtep was cenſured, even by his own party.

However, the duke, thus ſtrengthened by foreign forces, devoted to the intereſt of the miniſter, by whom they had been brought into the kingdom, and were to be paid, thought this a proper opportunity to make his brother ſubmit quietly to his authority, or to ſacrifice him to his own ſafety. He, therefore, made a final attempt to win him over to his intereſt, which

which he did by offering him a conſiderable eſtate, if he would withdraw from court and all public buſineſs. But the hatred the admiral bore the protector being inſurmountable, on the 22d of February a full report was made to the council, with an accuſation conſiſting of thirty-three articles.

It ſeems highly probable, that lord Sudley was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, ſince he anſwered only the three firſt articles, and that with much reluctance. The particulars of the charge were ſo manifeſtly proved, not only by witneſſes, but by letters under his own hand, that it did not ſeem poſſible to deny them. Yet, when he was firſt ſent to, and examined by ſome of the privy counſellors, he refuſed to make any direct anſwers, or to ſign the evaſive replies he had made; therefore it was ordered, that, on the next day, all the privy council, except the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Sir John Baker ſpeaker to the houſe of commons, who was obliged to attend at the houſe, ſhould go to the Tower, and examine him. Accordingly, the lord chancellor, with the other privy counſellors, repaired to the Tower, and read to him the articles of accuſation: they then earneſtly deſired him to make plain anſwers, to excuſe himſelf where he could, and ſubmit where he could not, without ſhewing any obſtinacy of mind. To this he anſwered, that he expected an open trial, and to have his accuſers confronted with him. The privy counſellors uſed all the arguments they could think of to perſuade him to be more tractable, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, the lord chancellor required him, on his allegiance, to make his anſwers. He perſiſted to refuſe making any anſwer, without having the articles left with him, that he might conſider of them at leiſure; but the counſellors would not conſent to leave them with him on thoſe terms.

On the 22d of February, 1549, it was reſolved in council, that the whole board ſhould, after dinner, acquaint

quaint the king with the ſtate of the affair, and deſire to know if it was his pleaſure that the law ſhould take place, and whether he would leave the determination of this affair to the parliament, as it had been laid before them; ſo cautiouſly did they proceed in a caſe which concerned the life of the king's uncle. But the youthful monarch had experienced his ſeditious temper, and had lately been much alienated from him. When the counſellors waited on his majeſty, the lord chancellor opened the matter to him, declaring it, as his opinion, that it ſhould be left to the parliament. Then the other counſellors gave their opinions, in which they all agreed with the lord chancellor. The protector ſpoke laſt: he proteſted, that this event gave him the greateſt concern; that he had done his utmoſt to prevent it from coming to ſuch an extremity; but, were it his ſon or brother, he muſt prefer his majeſty's ſafety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood; and that therefore he was not againſt the requeſt, that the other lords had made. He added, that if he himſelf were guilty of ſuch offences, he ſhould deſerve death; and the rather, becauſe he was, of all men, the moſt bound to his majeſty, and therefore he could not refuſe juſtice. The king's was as follows: "We perceive, that there are great things objected and laid to my lord high admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treaſon; and, we perceive, that you require but juſtice to be done; we think it reaſonable, that you proceed according to your requeſt." Which words, (as it is obſerved in the council-book) coming ſo ſuddenly from his grace's mouth, of his own motion, as the lords might perceive, they were marvelloufly rejoiced, and gave the king moſt hearty praiſe and thanks: yet reſolved, that ſome of both houſes ſhould be ſent to the admiral, before the bill ſhould be put in againſt him, to ſee what he could, or would ſay.

All this was done in order to bring him to a ſubmiſſion: the lord-chancellor, the earls of Shrewſbury, Warwick,

Warwick, and Southampton; Sir John Baker, Sir Thomas Cheyney, and Sir Anthony Denny, were ſent to him. He long continued obſtinate, but was at laſt prevailed upon to give an anſwer to the firſt three articles; and then he ſtopped on a ſudden, and bid them be content, for he would go no farther; and no intreaties could work on him, either to anſwer the reſt, or to ſet his hand to the anſwers he had made.

On the 25th of February, a bill of attainder was brought into the houſe of lords, and the peers had been ſo accuſtomed to agree to ſuch bills in king Henry's time, that they made no difficulty to paſs it. All the judges, and the king's council, were unanimous in their opinions, that the articles amounted to treaſon. Then the evidence was heard; many lords gave it ſo fully, that all the reſt, with one voice, conſented to the bill; only the protector, "for natural pity's ſake," deſired leave to withdraw. On the 27th, the bill was ſent down to the commons, with a meſſage, that if they deſired to proceed as the lords had done, thoſe lords that had given their evidence in their own houſe, ſhould come down, and declare it to the commons. But there was much oppoſition made to it in the houſe of commons. They could not forbear exclaiming againſt the prevailing practice of attainders, and the irregular manner of judging the accuſed, without confronting them with the witneſſes, or hearing their defence. It was juſtly thought a very unwarrantable method of proceeding, that ſome peers ſhould riſe up in their places, in their own houſe, and relate ſomewhat to the ſlander of another, and that he ſhould thereupon be attainted. They preſſed therefore that it might be done by a trial; and that the admiral might be brought to the bar, and allowed to plead for himſelf. They would, in all probability, have thrown out the bill, if the king had not ſent them a meſſage, that he did not think the admiral's preſence neceſſary; and that it was ſufficient they ſhould exa-

mine the depoſitions, which had been produced in the houſe of lords.

The king having thus intimated his pleaſure, the commons, in a full houſe of four hundred, paſſed the bill, not above ten or twelve voting in the negative. The royal aſſent was given on the 5th of March, 1549, and on the 10th of the ſame month, the council reſolved to preſs the king, that juſtice might be done on the admiral. It is ſaid, in the council-book, that ſince the caſe was ſo heavy and lamentable to the protector, though it was alſo ſorrowful to them all, they reſolved to proceed in it, ſo that neither the king, nor he ſhould be farther troubled with it. After dinner, they went to the king, the protector being with them. The king ſaid, He had well obſerved their proceedings, and thanked them for their great care of his ſafety, and commanded them to proceed in it, without farther moleſting him or the protector, and ended, "I pray you, my lords, do ſo." Upon this, the biſhop of Ely had orders to attend the admiral, to adminiſter ſpiritual advice, and to prepare him to meet his fate with patience and reſignation: and, on the 17th of March, having made report of his attendance on the admiral, the council ſigned a warrant for his execution, in purſuance whereof, the admiral was beheaded on the 20th of March, 1549.

The protector upon this occaſion incurred very ſevere cenſures, for conſenting to his death. It was ſaid, if the admiral was guilty, it was only againſt his brother, whom he would have ſupplanted, and it ſeems ſcarcely to admit of a doubt, that this ſame brother was the admiral's rival, and brought him to the ſcaffold. Rapin juſtly obſerves, that they who had thoughts then of ruining the protector, feigning to be his friends, ſpurred him on to be revenged on his brother, and were very ready to ſerve as his inſtruments. Accordingly, this cataſtrophe increaſed the animoſity of the nobles, which was carried to the higheſt pitch, by the protector's

protector's conduct in countenancing the people upon the following juſt occaſion.

After the ſuppreſſion of the abbeys, vaſt numbers of monks were diſperſed through the kingdom, who were forced to work for their bread, their penſions being ill paid, or not ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence. Thus the work being divided among ſo many hands, the profit became leſs than before, beſides, while the monaſteries ſtood, their lands were let out at very eaſy rents to farmers, who, to cultivate them, were obliged to employ a vaſt number of people. But after their lands were fallen into the hands of the nobility and gentry, the rents were much raiſed, whence it came to paſs that the farmers, to make them turn to better account, were forced to employ fewer hands, and leſſen the wages. On the other ſide, the proprietors of the lands, finding that ſince the laſt peace with France, the woollen trade flouriſhed, bethought themſelves of breeding ſheep, becauſe wool brought them in more money than corn. To that end, they cauſed their grounds to be incloſed. Hence aroſe ſeveral inconveniencies. In the firſt place, the price of corn was raiſed to the great detriment of the lower ſort of people; in the next place, the landlords or their farmers had occaſion only for few perſons to look after their flocks in grounds ſo incloſed. Thus many were deprived of the means of getting a livelihood, and the profit of the lands, which was before ſhared by a great many, was almoſt wholly engroſſed by the landlords. This occaſioned great complaints and murmurs among the common people, who ſaw they were likely to be reduced to great miſery; and ſeveral little books were publiſhed, ſetting forth the miſchief which muſt reſult from ſuch proceedings. But the nobility and gentry continued the ſame courſe notwithſtanding, without being at all ſolicitous about the conſequences. The protector openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the poor people, becauſe he was aware of the miſchiefs which might ariſe

from popular diſcontent; and appointed commiſſioners to examine, whether thoſe who held the abbey-lands, kept hoſpitality, and performed all the conditions upon which thoſe lands were ſold them; but he met with ſo many obſtacles in the execution of this order, that it produced no effect.

Thus the protector continued to aggravate the hatred of the nobility and gentry, who found their account in countenancing theſe abuſes; for, in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, the lords paſſed a bill for giving every one leave to incloſe his grounds if he pleaſed: but it was thrown out by the commons, and yet the lords and gentlemen went on incloſing their lands. This occaſioned a general diſcontent among the people, who had apprehenſions of a formed deſign to ruin them, and reduce them to a ſtate of ſlavery; upon this the common people made an inſurrection in Wiltſhire, but Sir William Herbert diſperſed them, and cauſed ſome of them to be hanged. About the ſame time there were ſimilar inſurrections in Suſſex, Hampſhire, Kent, Glouceſterſhire, Suffolk, Warwick, Eſſex, Hertfordſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, and Worceſterſhire. The protector perceiving the flames were kindling all over the kingdom, ſent to let the people know, that he was ready to redreſs their grievances. By this meaſure he ſtopped their fury; and, agreeably to his promiſe, he laid the affair before the council, hoping that ſome expedient might be found to ſatisfy the malcontents. But he met with ſo great an oppoſition, that he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to have recourſe to his ſole authority; and, therefore, contrary to the opinion of the whole council, he iſſued out a proclamation againſt all new incloſures, and granted a general pardon to the people for what was paſt. He even went farther, for he appointed commiſſioners with an unlimited power, to hear and determine cauſes about incloſures, highways and cottages. Theſe commiſſioners were much complained

plained of by the nobility and gentry, who ſaid openly, that it was an invaſion of their property to ſubject them to an arbitrary power; they alſo went ſo far as to oppoſe the commiſſioners when they offered to execute their commiſſion; therefore the protector was not able to redreſs this grievance ſo fully as he deſired; and the people finding the court did not perform what was promiſed, roſe again in ſeveral places, particularly in Oxfordſhire, Devonſhire, Norfolk, and Yorkſhire. Thoſe in Oxfordſhire were immediately diſperſed by the lord Grey. The inſurrection in Devonſhire was more conſiderable and dangerous; the county abounding with people, who had only complied outwardly with the alterations made in religion, the prieſts and monks ran in among them, and uſed their utmoſt efforts to foment the rebellion. They roſe on the 10th of June, and in a ſhort time grew to be ten thouſand ſtrong. At firſt the protector neglected this affair, hoping this inſurrection might be quelled as eaſily as the others had been. At laſt, perceiving they were bent to perſiſt in their rebellion, he ſent the lord Ruſſel with a ſmall force to ſtop their proceedings. The rebellion was ſoon quelled, and during the continuance of it, the protector diſcovered by the whole tenor of his conduct, that he did not deſire to come to extremities with the rebels, being either perſuaded that the people had reaſon to complain, or, deſirous to gain their favour as a ſhield againſt the nobility, who hated him. Inſomuch, that after all the commotions were over, he moved in the council that a general pardon might be proclaimed, in order to reſtore the peace of the kingdom: but this motion met with great oppoſition; many of the council were for taking this occaſion to curb the inſolence of the people. But the protector being of another mind, gave out, by his ſole authority, a general pardon of all that had been done before the 21ſt of Auguſt, and excepted out of it only a few rebel priſoners. He had power to act in this man-

ner by virtue of his patent, but it increaſed the hatred of the nobles, as well as great part of the council, who were highly mortified to ſee that they were conſulted only for form-ſake, and that their opinions were of no manner of weight. But by this prudent and moderate exertion of an illegal prerogative, it is certain, that the protector put an end to a moſt alarming rebellion, which wore the aſpect of being converted to a civil war; for both ſides had powerful partiſans, and the people were violently exaſperated againſt the land-holders. The inſurrection in Norfolk was the moſt formidable, but as it was quelled by the addreſs of the earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northumberland, more ample mention will be made of it in the life of that miniſter, the protector's ſubtle enemy, and ſucceſſor.

The war with Scotland had been productive of another with Henry II. in France, who aſcended the throne of that kingdom upon the death of Francis I. in 1547. A rupture with the Emperor Charles V. was likewiſe to be apprehended, on account of the aſſiſtance given by the Engliſh miniſtry to the German Proteſtants, his diſcontented ſubjects. This ſituation of foreign affairs was too embarraſſing for the limited capacity of the protector. Dreading the machinations of a powerful faction now formed againſt him at home, with whom the Romiſh party were ſecretly allied, he was afraid to hazard the conduct of three wars, under ſuch diſtreſſing circumſtances; and therefore reſolved to liſten to the overtures of France, that court offering peace, and its aſſiſtance to the German Proteſtants, if England would reſtore Boulogne.

While this peace was privately negociating, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Southampton, the diſgraced chancellor, who had recovered his ſeat in the privy council, aſſociated themſelves with about eighteen lords of the council, who agreed to withdraw from court, and openly oppoſe the protector.

Among

Among many other freſh cauſes of jealouſy, envy, and hatred againſt the duke, none had any effect with the public at large, except the ſuperb palace that he was building in the Strand (Somerſet-houſe) and as this impolitic undertaking greatly leſſened his popularity, we ſhall borrow from Sir John Hayward's life of Edward VI. his curious relation of this intereſting tranſaction.

"Many well-diſpoſed minds conceived a hard opinion of him, for that a church by *Strand-bridge*, and two biſhops houſes were pulled down, to make a ſeat for his new building: in digging the foundations whereof, the bones of many who had been buried there, were caſt up, and carried into the fields; and becauſe the ſtones of thoſe houſes, and of the church, did nothing ſuffice for his work, the ſteeple and moſt part of the church of *St John of Jeruſalem*, near Smithfield, (moſt beautifully erected and adorned not long before, by Docray, prior of that church) was mined and overthrown with powder, and the ſtones applied to this ſpacious building. And becauſe the work could not be therewith finiſhed, the cloiſter of Paul's on the north-ſide of the church, in a place called *Pardon* church-yard; and *the dance of death*, very curiouſly wrought about the cloiſter, and a chapel that ſtood in the midſt of the church-yard; alſo the charnel-houſe that ſtood on the ſouth-ſide, with the chapel, tombs, and monuments therein, were beaten down, the tombs of the dead carried into *Finſbury Fields*, and the ſtones converted to his building."—p. 204 & 205, edit. 1636.

It was alſo alledged by the lords, that many biſhops and prebends had reſigned many manors to him to obtain his favour; though this was not done without leave obtained from the king: for, in a grant of ſome lands made to him by the king, on the 11th of July, in the ſecond year of his reign, it was obſerved that theſe lands were given him as a reward of his ſervices in Scotland, for which he was offered greater rewards: but,

that

that refuſing to accept of ſuch grants as might too much impoveriſh the crown, he had taken a licence from the biſhop of Bath and Wells, for a lienating ſome of the lands of that biſhopric to him. He is, in that patent, called by the grace of God, duke of Somerſet; which expreſſion, by the grace of God, had not been uſed for ſome years paſt, but in ſpeaking of ſovereign princes. It was alſo reported, that many of the chantry lands had been ſold to his friends at eaſy rates; for which they concluded he had great preſents. An uncommon proſperity had alſo raiſed him too high; ſo that he did not behave to the nobility with that condeſcenſion which might have been expected from him.

All theſe things concurred to raiſe him many enemies, and he had very few friends; for none adhered firmly to him but Paget, ſecretary Smith, and archbiſhop Cranmer, who was never known to forſake his friend. All thoſe that favoured the old ſuperſtition were his enemies; and, ſeeing the earl of Southampton at the head of the party againſt him, they all immediately joined with him. Goodrich, biſhop of Ely, though he was for the Reformation, likewiſe joined them. He had attended the admiral in his preparation for death, from whom he had received very ill impreſſions of the Protector. Even his enemies were ſenſible, and he was ſenſible himſelf, that the continuance of war would inevitably ruin him, and that a peace might confirm him in his power.

This conſideration made the protector reſolve to propoſe to the council the reſtitution of Boulogne to France: but though he backed this motion with all the reaſons he thought moſt plauſible, it was received by the council with ſigns of indignation, and conſidered as downright cowardice. It was too nice an affair for the protector to think of doing it by his own authority; and therefore, though he plainly perceived the oppoſite faction would carry it, he was willing his propoſal ſhould be debated in form.

The

The result of their consultation was, that Boulogne should not be restored, but that they should endeavour to make an alliance with the emperor for the security of that place. Paget was appointed for the embassy, because, being devoted to the protector, the ill success which was expected to attend this negociation was designed to be thrown upon him, in order to asperse the protector himself.

This mortifying repulse at the council-board, was followed by an open declaration from the associated lords, who usually met at Ely-house, that they considered themselves as the king's council, and were determined to take vigorous measures for the safety of the king and of the realm, both of which were endangered by the usurped, unlimited power of the duke of Somerset; and on the 6th of October, 1549, the lord St John, president of the council, the earls of Southampton, Warwick, and Arundel; Sir Edward North, Sir Richard Southwel, Sir Edmund Peckham, Sir Edward Wotton, and Dr Wotton, sat accordingly as the king's council.

The protector alarmed, sent his secretary Petre to them, to know the cause of their assemblies, but instead of returning, he remained with the associated lords, embracing their party. On the 8th of the same month, they went into the city, in a body well armed, and attended with a train of servants in new liveries, to Guildhall, where finding the lord mayor, aldermen and common council assembled, notice having been previously sent to them for that purpose, the lord chancellor Rich, who with some of the great officers of state had joined the association, declared to the citizens, that the objects they had in view were, to secure the personal safety of the king, to redress the grievances of the nation, and to recover its weight and influence at foreign courts, by removing the duke of Somerset from the king's person and councils, whose mal administration had been the cause of all the misfortunes

fortunes which had befallen the realm, both in its foreign and domeſtic concerns for ſome time paſt. Upon this declaration, the city expreſſed an entire approbation of the meaſures taken by the lords; but when a requiſition was made, that the city ſhould ſupply them with 2000 men to enable them to oppoſe the meaſures of the protector, who had removed the king from Hampton court to Windſor, and had armed all his dependants; one George Sadlowe, a common-council man, oppoſed the motion, though ſupported by the recorder; and after juſtly obſerving, that the mayor had received a letter from the king, commanding the aid of 1000 men to protect his perſon againſt the deſigns of the lords, he adviſed his fellow citizens to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, by not granting any armed force to either party.

But the duke of Somerſet, ſtruck with a panic, on being informed that the lords were in poſſeſſion of the Tower, and that the city had expreſſed a general approbation of the confederacy againſt him, reſolved to ſubmit to his fate, without giving the new council any farther trouble.

Hereupon, there was ſent to London a warrant under the king's hand, for any two of the lords of the council that were there, to come to Windſor with twenty ſervants each, who had the king's faith for their ſafety in coming and going: at the ſame time Cranmer, Paget and Smith, wrote to them, to end the matter peaceably, and not follow cruel council, nor ſuffer themſelves to be miſled by thoſe who meant otherwiſe than they profeſſed, of which they knew more than they would then mention. This ſeemed to be levelled at the earl of Southampton. On the 9th of October, 1549, the council at London was increaſed by the acceſſion of lord Ruſſel, lord Wentworth, ſir Anthony Brown, ſir Anthony Wingfield, and ſir John Baker, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. For thoſe who had been for a while attached to the protector,

tector, ſeeing he was reſolved to ſubmit, came and united themſelves to the prevailing party; ſo that they were in all two and twenty: and the protector was ſo weak, as to write a letter to the earl of Warwick, couched in ſuch humiliating terms of complaint, expoſtulation and intreaty, that his enemies plainly perceived they had gained their point, and they reſolved to ſhew him no mercy: for they inſtantly publiſhed a proclamation, ſigned by ſeventeen perſons, either for nobility, or authority of office well regarded, "aſcribing all the national diſgraces abroad, and the inteſtine diviſions at home, to the evil government of the duke, and proteſting that his adminiſtration threatened worſe dangers. They deſired, and in the king's name, charged all his ſubjects not to obey any precepts, licences, or proclamations, whereunto the protector's hand ſhould be ſet, albeit he ſhould abuſe the king's hand and ſeal unto them, but to quit themſelves, upon ſuch proclamation, as ſhould proceed from the body of the council." *Hayward*, p. 229.

Of all the privy counſellors, only the archbiſhop of Canterbury and Paget ſtaid with the king, who ſeeing the impoſſibility of withſtanding the oppoſite party, had adviſed the king and the duke to give the council the ſatisfaction they required. The king conſenting to it, the counſellors at London had notice of it by an expreſs. As they had foreſeen that the duke would be obliged to yield, they ſent deputies to Windſor with a charge, to ſee that he did not withdraw, and that ſome of his confidents ſhould be put under an arreſt. On the 12th of October, the chief privy-counſellors, enemies of the duke, waited on the king, who received them graciouſly, and aſſured them, that he took all they had done in good part. Next day they ſat in council, the king being preſent; when Somerſet was formally deprived of the protectorſhip, and all other public offices, and was ordered into confinement in Beauchamp tower, within Windſor caſtle. Then the

the lords appointed ſeven of the lords of the council, and four knights, to attend the king's perſon by rotation; and having brought his majeſty to Hampton-court, the duke of Somerſet was ſoon after eſcorted to London, riding through that city between the earls of Southampton and Huntingdon, who delivered him to the ſheriffs by whom he was carried to the Tower, by virtue of a warrant to them, from the king and his new council.

A rumour having been propagated about this time, that the confederate lords had deſigns upon the king's life, and meant to change the form of government to an ariſtocracy, it was judged expedient that their beloved prince ſhould appear to the people in public. Accordingly he rode from Hampton-court to his palace in Southwark (then called Suffolk place) where he dined; and in the afternoon, he rode in great ſtate, attended by the principal lords of the confederacy, through the city to Weſtminſter; whereat the people were ſo exceedingly rejoiced, as the king reigned in the hearts of all perſons, however differing in religion, that they rent the air with loud acclamations, and ſeemed to have entirely forgotten their favourite, the late protector.

On the ſecond of January, 1550, a bill of attainder was carried into the houſe of lords againſt the duke, with a confeſſion ſigned by his own hand. But as ſome of the lords ſuſpected that this confeſſion had been extorted from him, and urged, that it was an ill precedent to paſs acts upon ſuch papers, without examining the party, whether he had ſubſcribed them free and uncompelled; the houſe ſent four temporal lords, and four biſhops, to examine him concerning it. The next day, the biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield made the report, that he thanked them for that kind meſſage; but, that he had freely ſubſcribed the confeſſion which lay before them; that he had made it on his knees before the king and council, and had ſigned it on the thirteenth

thirteenth of December. He proteſted that his offences had flowed from raſhneſs and indiſcretion rather than malice, and that he had no treaſonable deſign againſt the king or his realms. Whereupon, he was fined by act of parliament in two thouſand pounds a year in land, with the forfeiture to the king of all his goods, and the loſs of all his places. But he was ſet at liberty on the ſixth of February, giving a bond of ten thouſand pounds for his good behaviour, with a reſtriction, that he ſhould ſtay at the king's houſe at Sheen, or his own of Lion, and ſhould not go four miles from them, nor come to the king or council, unleſs ſent for. On the 16th of the ſame month, he received his pardon, and, after that, behaved with ſo much humility, that he was, on the 10th of April following, reſtored to favour by the king, and ſworn of the privy-council; and the ſtorm paſſed over more gently than he expected. He forfeited, however, in a great meaſure, the eſteem he had acquired among the people, who, not diving into the reaſons of his conduct, could not help thinking him guilty, ſince he had confeſſed all: but the king, who had a quick judgement, ſaw through the deſigns of his enemies; but though he privately eſteemed him, his own authority was not ſufficient to ſcreen him from their determined vengeance.

But the affection the king ſtill bare to his uncle, being obſerved by the crafty earl of Warwick, he made a ſemblance of being reconciled to the duke of Somerſet, and the more effectually to deceive the public, his eldeſt ſon, the lord viſcount Liſle, was married to lady Ann Seymour, daughter to the duke, on June 17, 1550; the king being preſent at the ſolemnity, and expreſſing the higheſt ſatisfaction at this alliance.

The Popiſh party formed great expectations from the diſgrace of the duke of Somerſet, but it was ſoon found that his ſucceſſor in power, the earl of Warwick, had no particular attachment to any religion,

yet was moſt inclined to the Reformation, becauſe he ſaw the king was zealous in promoting it. He therefore abandoned the Roman catholic intereſt, by which he had been ſupported; and this gave the duke of Somerſet and his friends a fair proſpect of undermining him; and it is certain, that from the time Warwick became prime miniſter, Somerſet was conſtantly forming private ſchemes to recover his loſt dignity, and that his antagoniſt, wiſhing for a favourable opportunity to ſacrifice ſo dangerous a rival, employed ſpies to watch all his motions: and as the conteſt was very unequal between them, Warwick having all the qualities of a deep politician, and Somerſet, a free, open, unguarded, communicative diſpoſition, it is no wonder that he was ſo ſoon betrayed by his perfidious confidents, who were ſecretly bribed by Warwick.

By one of theſe, his ruin was accompliſhed. For Warwick having by degrees alienated the young king's affection from his uncle, and gained an aſcendency over him by his ſkilful management of public affairs, began to throw off the maſk, and to treat the duke with contempt and ill uſage, that he might thereby excite him to ſome act of deſperation, which might juſtify putting him to death. The unguarded Somerſet upon this, broke out into threatening expreſſions, and it is ſaid, had thoughts of aſſaſſinating the new miniſter, now duke of Northumberland. The chief informer againſt Somerſet was Sir Thomas Palmer, who accuſed him firſt privately to the king, and afterwards to the council, of having formed a deſign to raiſe an inſurrection in the North; to attack the *gens d'armes*, the king's guard, on a muſter day; to ſecure the Tower; and to excite a rebellion in London: to this was added, a plot to murder the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke; and this laſt charge was ſupported likewiſe by the evidence of one Crane and his wife, confidential dependants on the ducheſs of Somerſet,

Somerſet, and Crane in particular depoſed, that the plot was to be carried into execution, at a banquet to be given by lord Paget to the devoted lords. Upon theſe ſuſpicions of treaſon and felony, the king too readily conſented, that his uncle ſhould be brought to a trial; and very ſoon after, a circumſtance which ought to have been conſtrued in his favour, was made uſe of to confirm the accuſations againſt him.

Somerſet, yielding too much to the fear of a ſudden attempt upon his own life, had been perſuaded to wear a coat of mail next his ſhirt, and going thus dreſſed to the council-board on the 16th of October, 1551, his boſom, by inattention, being open, the armour was diſcovered, upon which he was forthwith apprehended as intending the death of ſome counſellor, and the duke of Northumberland, in particular, taxed him ſo vehemently, that he was ordered to the Tower, and attachments were iſſued againſt all his pretended aſſociates. In conſequence of theſe proceedings, ſome of the accuſed fled upon the firſt ſummons, particularly Sir Thomas Vane, who was taken in a ſtable at Lambeth, hid under the ſtraw, and this fooliſh conduct ſeemed to confirm the truth of the plot. The next day the ducheſs of Somerſet, lord Grey of Wilton, Crane and his wife, and the chief waiting-woman belonging to the ducheſs were committed to the Tower, at which the people exceedingly rejoiced, believing if there was any real miſchief on foot, the ducheſs muſt have been the chief contriver and inſtrument of it. Sir Thomas Holdcroft, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, John and David Seymour, Wingfield, Baniſter and Vaughan were likewiſe committed to different priſons; but Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Ralph Arundel, Hammond Nudigate, and Sir Thomas Vane, (who turned evidence) were treated with great tenderneſs, and held in cuſtody in apartments at court, to be produced as the principal accuſers.

Upon the farther examination of Crane, the earl of Arundel, lord Paget, and two of the earl of Arundel's ſervants were alſo taken into cuſtody: in order to prejudice the public againſt the duke of Somerſet, the lord chancellor made an elaborate ſpeech in the ſtar-chamber, on the accuſations againſt the duke, giving his opinion in public, againſt every rule of equity, previous to the trial, that they were true; and the foreign miniſters were inſtructed to write to their reſpective courts, that he was guilty, as implicitly as if he had already been convicted.

Upon theſe extravagant accuſations, moſt hiſtorians have founded their accounts of this event. Dr Burnet is the only one, whom we can depend upon with regard to the evidence againſt the duke: according to him, it appeared, that he had made a party to get himſelf declared protector in the next parliament; which the earl of Rutland did poſitively affirm, and the duke's anſwer ſerved only to confirm it to be true. But though this might well inflame his enemies, yet it was no crime. As to the means which the duke of Somerſet intended to make uſe of, in order to attain his ends, it is highly probable he had deviſed ſeveral, but had yet fixed upon none, except that, perhaps, of ſecuring the duke of Northumberland's perſon.

On the firſt of December the duke was brought to his trial; the marquis of Wincheſter was lord high ſteward, the peers who ſat in judgment being twenty-ſeven in number. The crimes with which he was charged, were caſt into five ſeveral indictments, as it appears from the king's journal; but whether indictments or articles is not clear. That he had deſigned to have ſeized on the king's perſon, and ſo to have governed all his affairs; that he intended to have attacked the *gens d'armes* on a muſter day; that he, with one hundred others, intended to kill the earl of Warwick, then duke of Northumberland, and that he had

had deſigned to raiſe an inſurrection in the North, and in the city of London.

It was objected on the trial, that three peers, Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, againſt the firſt of whom it was pretended in the indictment, that he had conſpired, ſhould ſit as his judges: for though, by the law, no peer can be challenged in a trial, yet it was ever held, that a man cannot be judge in his own cauſe, but the objection was over-ruled; and, what is very extraordinary, the lord-chancellor, though then a peer, was left out of the number; but it ſeems probable, that the reconciliation between him and the duke of Somerſet was then ſuſpected, and that he was therefore excluded from the number of his judges.

The duke of Somerſet, though little acquainted with the laws of the land, did not deſire counſel to plead or aſſiſt him in point of law, but only anſwered himſelf to matters of fact. He began his defence, by requeſting, that no advantage might be taken againſt him, for any idle word, or paſſionate expreſſion, that might at any time have eſcaped him. He proteſted, he never intended to have raiſed the northern parts; but had only, upon ſome reports, ſent to Sir William Herbert, to intreat him to be his friend: that he had never formed a reſolution to kill the duke of Northumberland, or any other perſon, but had only talked of it, without any intention of doing it: that, for the deſign of deſtroying the guards, it was ridiculous to think, that he, with a ſmall troop, could deſtroy ſo ſtrong a body of men, conſiſting of nine hundred; in which, though he had ſucceeded, it could have ſignified nothing: that he never intended to have raiſed any diſturbances in London, but had always looked upon it as a place in which he was in perfect ſecurity: that his having men about him in Greenwich was with no ill deſign, ſince he did no miſchief with them, even when it was in his own power; but, upon his

attachment, ſurrendered, without making any reſiſtance. He likewiſe objected many things againſt the witneſſes, and deſired they might be brought face to face. He ſpoke much againſt Sir Thomas Palmer, the chief witneſs, in particular. But the witneſſes were not brought, only their examinations were read. Upon this, the king's counſel pleaded againſt him, that to levy war was certainly treaſon: that, to aſſemble men, with an intention to kill privy-counſellors, was alſo treaſon: that to have men about him to reſiſt the attachment, was felony; and, to aſſault the lords, to contrive their deaths, was felony.

When the peers withdrew, it ſeems, the proofs about his deſign of raiſing the north, or the city, or of killing the guards, did not ſatisfy them. For all theſe had been, without all queſtion, treaſonable; but they held to the point of conſpiring to kill the duke of Northumberland. The duke of Suffolk was of opinion, that no contention among private ſubjects, ſhould be on any account ſcrewed up, to be high treaſon. The duke of Northumberland ſaid, he would never conſent that any practice againſt him ſhould be reputed treaſon. After a great difference of opinion, they all acquitted him of treaſon; but the greater number found him guilty of felony; in which ſentence they proceeded upon a ſtatute made in the reign of Henry VII. which declared it felony for inferior perſons to intend to take away the life of a privy-counſellor, but lords were therein expreſſedly excepted; and therefore, as Hayward obſerves, Somerſet, being both a peer and privy-counſellor, the ſtatute could not affect him.

The duke behaved, during the whole time of his trial, with great temper and patience: when ſentence was given, he thanked the lords for their attention, and aſked pardon of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, for his ill intentions againſt them; and made-

made ſuit for his life, in pity to his wife, children, and ſervants, and in regard of payment of his debts.

He was then remanded to the Tower, and becauſe he was acquitted of treaſon, the axe was not openly carried, whereupon the people, ſuppoſing that he was altogether acquitted, ſhouted half a dozen times ſo loud, that they were heard beyond Charing-Croſs. *Hayward*, p. 330.

It is highly probable, that the duke relied on a pardon, having before experienced the king's clemency; but his popularity ſerved only to increaſe the fears of the court, and great pains had been taken to prepoſſeſs the king againſt him; ſo that young Edward, who abhorred the crimes he believed him guilty of, was very far from any thoughts of granting him a pardon; and, in order to prevent it effectually, the king was told, that the duke had confeſſed in the Tower, that he had hired one Bartuile to kill ſome of the lords of the council, which Bartuile was ſaid to have acknowledged.

At the ſame time the courtiers artfully "entertained the king with ſtately maſks, tilts, barriers, and much other variety of mirth," to divert his thoughts from his condemned uncle; and the duke's relations and friends were prevented from approaching the royal preſence. And at length he conſented to his death; whereupon an order was ſent for beheading the duke of Somerſet on the 22d of January, 1552, on which day he was brought to the place of execution on Tower-hill. His whole deportment was very compoſed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been. He firſt kneeled down, and prayed, and then ſpake to the people in theſe words: "Dearly beloved friends, I am brought here to ſuffer death, albeit that I never offended againſt the king, neither by word or deed; and have always been as faithful and true to this realm, as any man hath been. But, for ſo much as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myſelf, as well as others, to be ſubject thereto: where-

fore,

fore, to teſtify my obedience, which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to ſuffer death, whereuuto I willingly offer myſelf, with moſt hearty thanks to God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might, through ſudden death, have taken away my life, that neither I ſhould have acknowledged him, nor myſelf. Moreover, there is yet ſomewhat that I muſt put you in mind of, as touching Chriſtian religion, which, ſo long as I was in authority, I always diligently ſet forth, and furthered to my power; neither repent I of my doings, but rejoice therein, ſince that now the ſtate of Chriſtian religion cometh moſt near unto the form and order of the primitive church, which thing I eſteem as a great benefit given of God, both to you and me; moſt heartily exhorting you all, that this, which is purely ſet forth to you, you will, with like thankfulneſs, accept and embrace, and ſet out the ſame in your living; which thing, if you do not, without doubt, greater miſchief and calamity will follow."

When he had gone ſo far, certain perſons of a hamlet near, who had been warned by the lieutenant to attend that morning at ſeven of the clock, coming after their hour, through the Poſtern, and perceiving the priſoner upon the ſcaffold, began ro run and to call their fellows to come away: the ſuddenneſs of their coming, the haſte they made, the weapons they carried; but eſpecially the words *come away*, moved many of the neareſt to the ſcaffold, to ſurmiſe that a power was come to reſcue the duke, whereupon many cried with a high voice, *away, away*. The cry of theſe, and the coming on of the others, caſt amazement upon all, ſo much the more terrible, as no man knew what he feared, or wherefore, every man conceiving that which his aſtoniſhed fancy did caſt in his mind; ſome imagined that it thundered; others, that it was an earthquake; others, that the powder in the armory had taken fire; others, that troops of horſemen

men approached; in which medley of conceits, they bore down one another, and joſtled many into the Tower ditch; and long it was before the vain tumult could be appeaſed; and when it was, another ſucceeded; for Sir Anthony Brown came riding towards the ſcaffold, and they all hoped he had brought a pardon; upon which there was a general ſhouting, "Pardon, pardon; God ſave the king;" many throwing up their caps; by which the duke might well perceive how dear he was to the people. But, as ſoon as theſe diſorders were over, he made a ſign to them with his hand to compoſe themſelves, and then went on in his ſpeech thus:

"Dearly beloved friends, there is no ſuch matter here in hand, as you vainly hope or believe. It ſeemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whoſe ordinance it is meet and neceſſary that we all be obedient to. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am moſt willing to ſuffer: and let us now join in prayer to the Lord, for the preſervation of the king's majeſty, unto whom, hitherto, I have always ſhewed myſelf a moſt faithful and firm ſubject. I have always been moſt diligent about his majeſty, in his affairs both at home and abroad; and no leſs diligent in ſeeking the common commodity of the whole realm;" (upon this the people cried out, it was moſt true) "unto whoſe majeſty I wiſh continual health, with all felicity, and all proſperous ſucceſs. Moreover, I do wiſh unto all his counſellors, the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule, in all things uprightly with juſtice; unto whom I exhort you all, in the Lord, to ſhew yourſelves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation; and alſo moſt profitable for the preſervation and ſafeguard of the king's majeſty. Moreover, for as much as heretofore I have had affairs with divers men, and hard it is to pleaſe every man; therefore, if there have been any that have been offended or injured by me,

I moſt

I moſt humbly require and aſk him forgiveneſs; but more eſpecially, I aſk forgiveneſs of Almighty God, whom, throughout all my life, I have moſt greivouſly offended; and all other, whatſoever they be, that have offended me, I do, with my whole heart, forgive them."

Then he deſired them to be quiet, leſt their tumults might trouble him, and ſaid, "Albeit the ſpirit be willing and ready, the fleſh is frail and wavering; and, through your quietneſs, I ſhall be much more quiet. Moreover, I deſire you all to bear me witneſs, that I die here in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, deſiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may perſevere conſtant in the ſame to my life's end."

Then Dr Cox, who was with him on the ſcaffold, put a paper into his hand, which was a prayer he had prepared for him. He read it on his knees, then he took leave of all about him, and undreſſed himſelf to be fitted for the axe. In all which there appeared no change in him, only his face was a little ruddier than ordinary. He continued calling, "Lord Jeſus ſave me," till the executioner ſevered his head from his body.

The duke of Somerſet was poſſeſſed of great virtues; he was eminent for piety; humble, and affable in his greatneſs; ſincere and candid in all his tranſactions. He was a better general than a ſtateſman; yet had been often ſucceſsful in his undertakings: was always careful of the poor and the oppreſſed; and, in a word, had as many virtues, and as few faults, as moſt great men, who have been as unexpectedly advanced to the higheſt pinnacle of power.

The people were much affected at this execution; many dipped handkerchiefs in his blood to preſerve it in remembrance of him; and it is certain, that they never forgave the duke of Northumberland, though they ſtifled their reſentment at the time. Of this we ſhall be convinced in the ſubſequent pages.

Authorities

*** *Authorities.* Baker's Chronicle. Sir John Hayward's Life of Edward VI. Biog. Britan. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, *&c.*

THE LIFE OF

JOHN DUDLEY,

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

[A. D. 1502, to 1553.]

JOHN DUDLEY was the ſon of the infamous Edmund Dudley, Eſq. an able, but corrupt lawyer, who was ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in 1504, and a privy counſellor, at which period the avarice of Henry VII. was inſatiable, and this venal lawyer, in conjunction with Sir Richard Empſon, chief juſtice of the king's-bench, inſtead of diſcountenancing the meaneſt of all paſſions that can be harboured in a royal breaſt, invented various illegal methods of extorting money from the people, to fill the king's coffers, themſelves receiving poundage for the ſums thus baſely acquired. Upon the acceſſion of Henry VIII. the people preſented petitions, and cried aloud to the king, whenever he appeared in public, for juſtice againſt theſe public robbers, and their inferior agents, and the latter being apprehended and ſet in the pillory, were ſtoned to death by the enraged populace, nor would they reſt ſatisfied till Empſon and Dudley were indicted, convicted of high treaſon, and beheaded, in 1510. The detail of their cruelties, extortions, and oppreſſions, the reader will find at large in Lord Bacon's hiſtory of Henry VII.

Young Dudley was born in 1502, and in the ninth year of his age, it being repreſented to the king, that he

he was deſcended from an ancient and honourable family, who, his father excepted, had done honourable ſervice to the ſtate, he was reſtored in blood, but no ſtatute is to be found for reverſing the attainder of his father, as recorded by moſt hiſtorians, nor could he inherit his father's opulent fortune, his perſonal eſtate having been confiſcated to the king's uſe, who never made any reſtitution of money, not even of the ſums extorted by his father, and as to the real eſtates, they were beſtowed on his favourites. But, about the year 1523, having received an education ſuitable to his rank, he was introduced to court by his mother, now married again, by the king's conſent, to Henry Plantagenet, who in her right, (ſhe being the daughter and heireſs of John Grey, Viſcount L'iſle) was created Viſcount L'Iſle.

Dudley's advantageous perſonal figure and great accompliſhments ſoon recommended him to the notice of his ſovereign, who nominated him to attend the king's favourite, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, in his expedition to France, where his gallant behaviour not only intitled him to the favour of his noble general, but procured him likewiſe the honour of knighthood. It is natural to imagine, that, upon his return, he was very well received at court, having many relations who had great influence there; but, it ſeems, he relied chiefly on his own abilities, and very wiſely attached himſelf to the king's firſt miniſter, cardinal Wolſey, whom he accompanied in his expedition to France, in 1527; and ſoon after he was made maſter of the armory in the Tower. His hopes of preferment at court, however, did not hinder him from attending his concerns in the country, where he was very aſſiduous in improving his intereſt with the gentry, and, in 1536, was nominated ſheriff of Staffordſhire; where he lived hoſpitably, and made himſelf popular among his neighbours.

During

During Wolſey's adminiſtration, Sir John Dudley aſſiduouſly paid his court to him; but as ſoon as he found Cromwell was gaining the aſcendant, his political genius directed him to attach himſelf to the new favourite, by whom he was appointed maſter of the horſe to the Princeſs Anne of Cleves, on her arrival in England. On the firſt of May, 1539, he was the firſt of the challengers in the triumphant tournament held at Weſtminſter, in which he appeared with great magnificence. This tournament had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all ſtrangers to try their proweſs againſt the Engliſh challengers, who were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir George Carew, knights; Anthony Kingſton, and Richard Cromwell, eſquires. Theſe challengers came into the liſts richly dreſſed, preceded by a band of knights and gentlemen, cloathed in white velvet. The firſt day there were forty-ſix defendants, amongſt whom were the earls of Surrey, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, ſon to the prime miniſter, then earl of Eſſex. Sir John Dudley, by ſome miſchance of his horſe, had the misfortune to be overthrown by one Mr Breme; however he mounted again, and performed very gallantly. After this was over, the challengers rode in ſtate to Durham-houſe, where they entertained the king, the new queen, and the court. On the ſecond day, Anthony Kingſton and Richard Cromwell were made knights. On the third, the challengers fought on horſeback with ſwords, againſt twenty-nine defendants; ſir John Dudley and the earl of Surrey running firſt with equal advantage. On the fifth day of May they fought on foot at the barriers againſt thirty defendants. In the courſe of theſe military diverſions, the challengers, at a vaſt expence, entertained both houſes of parliament, the lord mayor, aldermen, and their wives, and all the perſons of diſtinction then in town; as a reward for which, the king gave to each of them a houſe

and an hundred marks a year for ever, out of the revenues of the knights of Rhodes which had been given to his majeſty by the parliament then ſitting.

The fall of the earl of Eſſex did not in the leaſt affect the fortune of Sir John Dudley: who was ſo complete a courtier, that while he flattered the miniſters, he took care to pay the higheſt deference to the will of his ſovereign, and thus preſerved his credit at court, amidſt all the changes of men and meaſures.

In 1542, upon the death of his mother's ſecond huſband, he was created Viſcount L'Iſle; and at the next feſtival of St George, he was alſo elected knight of the garter. But this was ſoon after followed by a much ſtronger token of eſteem and confidence; for the king, conſidering his prudence, his courage, and his activity as well as the occaſion he had, and was likely to have, for a man of ſuch conſequence in that office, conſtituted him lord high admiral of England, for life.

In 1543, he commanded a fleet of two hundred ſail, with which he invaded Scotland, and in conjunction with the earl of Hertford, the commander in chief, took Edinburgh, being the firſt man who entered the gates. He next embarked for France, and on the 28th of July, of the ſame year, appeared before Boulogne, then beſieged by king Henry VIII. in perſon, and, by his great diligence and courage, facilitated very much the taking of the place, of which the king made him governor, with the title of his lieutenant-general.

Soon after the king had embarked for England, the dauphin advanced with an army of 50,000 men, and attempted to recover Boulogne by ſurpriſe; but the lord admiral made a vigorous defence, and repulſed the French, who loſt 800 of their beſt troops in the attack. They did not, however, raiſe the ſiege till the month of February, 1544, when the lord admiral, with a ſmall body of horſe and foot, made a ſucceſsful ſally, took twelve pieces of cannon, and obliged the French

French forces, though greatly ſuperior in number, to make a final and precipitate retreat.

Francis I. being greatly exaſperated at the loſs of Boulogne, contracted with the Italian ſtates for a number of veſſels, and having formed a fleet of two hundred ſail, beſides gallies, he gave inſtructions to Annebault, high admiral of France, not only to recover Boulogne, but to invade the Engliſh coaſts. But lord L'Iſle, upon his firſt appearance before St Helens, attacked him, with only ſixty ſail, and it is ſaid, that the French had particular orders to take the admiral, on which account, no leſs than eighteen of their ſhips attacked the admiral's, who defended himſelf ſo well, that they were obliged to retire, and the whole fleet ſoon followed. In a ſhort time after this, the Engliſh fleet being reinforced, and having taken ſome troops on board, a general engagement enſued, which laſted two hours, when night ſeparating the two fleets, the French took ſhelter in Havre de Grace, and thus ended their expedition. But the Engliſh admiral made a deſcent on the coaſt of France, burnt the town and abbey of Trepor, in Normandy, with thirty ſail of ſhips in the harbour, and then returned to England, with the loſs of only fourteen men.

A treaty of peace having been concluded with France in 1546, the lord admiral was appointed one of the commiſſioners, to take the oath of Francis I. for the due obſervance of the treaty. Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, and Wotton, dean of Canterbury, were joined with him in this embaſſy; and in the ſame year he was put into a commiſſion, granted to ſeveral perſons of the firſt rank, for ſettling the accounts of the army. This was the laſt public ſervice he performed in the reign of Henry VIII. who, for his eminent ſervices, beſtowed on him ſome conſiderable grants of church-lands, and at his death not only made him one of his ſixteen executors, who were to be joint regents of the kingdom during the minority of Edward VI. but add-

ed to this honour, a legacy of five hundred pounds; a great ſum in thoſe days.

The reader will remember, by what means Somerſet acquired the ſole regency of the kingdom, and he will not be ſurpriſed at the enmity which lord L'Iſle bore to the protector, when he is informed, that the important and moſt honourable office of high admiral was taken from him (though in the language of courts he is ſaid to have reſigned it) and given to Sir Thomas Seymour, the protector's brother. To compenſate in ſome meaſure for this impolitic and unjuſt ſtep, lord L'Iſle was created earl of Warwick, and made great chamberlain of England, on the ſame day that Sir Thomas Seymour was conſtituted high admiral, being the 17th of February, 1547, and not three weeks after the death of his late royal maſter, ſo precipitately did Somerſet lay the foundation of his own ruin: for the diſcontent of the earl of Warwick was apparent at this time; and in the farther view of repairing the injury, he had conſiderable grants from the crown, particularly Warwick caſtle and manor: but theſe emoluments could not bribe his boundleſs ambition.

Nor did he long wait for an opportunity to convince the nation, that his military talents, as well as his political abilities, were ſuperior to thoſe of the protector. In the life of Somerſet, we have related the cauſe and iſſue of the expedition to Scotland; and it muſt here be confeſſed, that the earl of Warwick, if he had been firſt, inſtead of ſecond in command, would have puſhed the war to a glorious concluſion. As it was, his conduct was univerſally commended, and all the blame fell upon Somerſet.

When the earl of Warwick returned to London from Scotland, he found the nobility, and perſons of rank about the court, divided into two factions, occaſioned by the quarrels between the protector and his brother; and with true Machiavelian policy, he widened the breach between them, at the ſame time, that he formed

formed a third party, who were to aſſiſt him in accompliſhing the ruin of both. With this view finding that Sudley had raſhly proceeded to overt acts of treaſon, he warmly urged the neceſſity of his being attainted in parliament, and after conviction, he continually preſſed his brother to conſent to his execution. No greater proof can be given of Somerſet's deficiency in politics, and the knowledge of mankind, than his taking the advice of ſo intereſted a perſon as Warwick, who had never loſt ſight of the office of high admiral, in which he was reinſtated, not long after the execution of the admiral, when he had accompliſhed the protector's firſt diſgrace.

The inſurrections which happened throughout England, in the year 1549, on account of the incloſures, have been already noticed in the life of the protector, and an account given of their ſuppreſſion, except that of Norfolk, which was reſerved for this place, becauſe the earl of Warwick was ordered to march againſt the Norfolk rebels, and the event of this expedition not only added to his military reputation, but ſhews how high he ſtood in the eſteem of the people at that time. The number of the rebels amounted to 16000 men, againſt whom the earl of Warwick was ſent, after their reduction had been in vain attempted by the marquis of Northampton, and lord Sheffield, (the latter of whom was ſlain by them,) to quell this formidable inſurrection, with 6000 foot, and 1500 horſe.

It was not till after a general battle, that Warwick got poſſeſſion of Norwich. Their leader, Robert Ket, a tanner, having taught the rebels ſome diſcipline, they drew up in excellent order, and fought with great bravery; and though they had upwards of 2000 killed in the action, they reſolutely intrenched themſelves, and prepared for a ſecond. The earl, with great humanity, unwilling to ſhed their blood, ſent a herald to offer them a pardon, if they would deliver up their leaders; but this they refuſed, telling the herald, that they ex-

pected to die, but they rather chose to fall in the field than to be deluded by deceitful promises to surrender, and then be put to death like dogs. Warwick, upon receiving this answer, prepared for the onset; but recollecting that they seemed to mistrust the herald, he sent to know if they would accept the pardon, in case he came to them in person, and assured them of it. To which they answered, "That he was a nobleman of such honour and generosity, that, if they might have this assurance from his own mouth, they were willing to submit." The earl accordingly went in amongst them; upon which they threw down their arms. Ket was taken the next day, and was hanged some time after at Norwich castle; and nine of his principal followers were likewise hanged on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation, as they had styled it.

Flushed with success, Warwick now began his association, with the confederated lords, who finding him an enterprising man, a great general, an expert politician, and in favour with the people, and knowing his secret hatred to the protector, they resolved to make him their chief instrument in reducing the duke's power; but they did not conceive at this time, that Warwick meant to compass his death.

The intrigues of the earl of Warwick from this period, to the death of the duke of Somerset, have been so amply set forth in the memoirs of that unfortunate nobleman, that we shall touch but slightly on the most important national transactions at this time.

The peace with France, which had been rejected, when the protector proposed it, was concluded, in April 1550, on the following conditions. Boulogne was to be restored to France, but the French king Henry II. stipulated to pay the king of England, in consideration thereof, and of the tribute in arrear from France, the sum of 400,000 crowns; and it was agreed, that this treaty should not prejudice the claim of England, either to France, or Scotland.

Soon

Soon after this peace, the duke of Brunſwick ſent an ambaſſador, to offer his ſervice to the king of England in his wars, with 10,000 men, and to ſolicit the princeſs Mary, the king's eldeſt ſiſter, in marriage. Anſwer was made, that the king's wars were at an end; and as to the propoſed marriage, that the king was in treaty with Portugal on that ſubject; but if that treaty came to no effect, the duke ſhould be favourably heard.

About the ſame time, the emperor ſeemed deſirous of breaking with England; for his ambaſſador boldly demanded of the king that the princeſs Mary ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of the maſs, claiming in this caſe, the authority of an uncle; but that of her brother and ſovereign being ſuperior, Edward refuſed to comply, and not only aſſiſted the German Proteſtants again with money, but becauſe the emperor publiſhed ſome ſevere edicts againſt them, the Engliſh merchants were injoined to trade, as little as poſſible, to Flanders.

A treaty of commerce was likewiſe concluded with Sweden, highly advantageous to England; for it brought bullion into the kingdom for our native commodities. A conſiderable coinage likewiſe took place at the Mint, but part of this coinage was debaſed.

About the beginning of the year 1551, intelligence was received, that the emperor intended to ſend a fleet to tranſport the princeſs Mary to Antwerp, and a rebellion in Eſſex ſeeming to favour this deſign, ſhe was brought from that county, where ſhe reſided, to London, and endeavours were uſed by the king and the council to bring her over to the Proteſtant religion, but in vain. The emperor now ſent an angry meſſage, threatening war, if ſhe was not allowed the free exerciſe of her religion; whereupon the council determined to ſend Dr Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, to his Imperial Majeſty, who brought the matter to a ſpeedy concluſion, by declaring that the ſame favour that the king's

king's ſubjects had with reſpect to their religion, (being Proteſtants) in the emperor's dominions, the ſame ſhould the emperor's ſubjects, (being Roman Catholics) enjoy in England; but as for the king's own ſubjects, of whom Mary was one, he had no right to interfere, or to direct the king his maſter in the management of the affairs of his own realm. This declaration put an end to the emperor's threats. And it muſt be confeſſed by the earl of Warwick's enemies, that the vigour which now animated the king's councils with regard to foreign affairs, was chiefly owing to his having the lead in adminiſtration. The king therefore finding he poſſeſſed the qualifications of an able ſtateſman, and ſeeing him, to all appearance, reconciled to his uncle, appointed him, in April, lord ſteward of his houſehold, and earl-marſhal of England; a ſhort time after, he was made lord-warden of the northern marches, and, in October, he was created duke of Northumberland.

By this time, he had made alliances with ſome of the beſt families in England, and advanced his children and friends at court: in particular, Sir Robert Dudley, one of his younger ſons, (afterwards earl of Leiceſter) a man "who for luſt and cruelty," ſays Hayward, "was the monſter of the court, was made one of the ſix ordinary gentlemen of the king's chamber, in Auguſt, and after his coming into place ſo near him, all authors agree, the king enjoyed his health but a little while."

That the duke of Somerſet was not qualified to be prime miniſter, is generally allowed; but the ſecluding him from every reſponſible office was the utmoſt puniſhment for his paſt errors, aimed at by the other counſellors. However, the duke of Northumberland had an ambitious project in agitation, which made him dread the integrity, and remaining influence of his ſovereign's uncle. But, after his death, having gained an entire aſcendancy over the king, (more lat-

terly,

terly, through fear of his power, than inclination) his dangerous plot began to grow ripe for execution; and it was haſtened by the following circumſtance.

The pious, amiable young monarch, notwithſtanding every art was made uſe of to divert him, grew melancholy and penſive. He was often found in tears, and upon the ſlighteſt mention of his late uncle, which could not be avoided in referring to paſt acts of the council, he would ſigh, ſays Hayward, and lament his own unfortunate ſituation, in theſe pathetic terms: "How unfortunate have I been to thoſe of my blood! my mother I ſlew at my birth, and ſince have made away two of her brothers, and haply to ſerve the purpoſes of others againſt myſelf. The protector had done nothing that deſerved death, or if he had, it was very little, and proceeded rather from his wife than himſelf! where then was the good nature of a nephew? where the decency of a prince? alas! how have I been abuſed? how little was I maſter of my own judgment, that both his death, and the blame thereof, muſt be charged upon me!"

Some writers have aſſerted, that the decline of Edward's health, which commenced about this time, was owing to natural cauſes, and that neither Northumberland, nor his agents, had any hand in haſtening his death: and they aſſign it, as a reaſon, that the duke had no cauſe to ſuſpect the decline of his power, while the king lived. But if we conſider that this nobleman had advanced himſelf by political fraud and cruelty, it ſeems highly probable, that he hourly dreaded his fall, as the king's judgment ripened with his years, and knew, that no other means could prevent the final diſcovery of his vile intrigues, founded on his ambition.

The king, therefore, diſcovering inward remorſe for the violent meaſures into which he had been precipitated through youthful inexperience; Northumberland, who had now the ſole direction of public affairs, both foreign and domeſtic, and whoſe family and friends

friends were placed about the throne, as a preliminary ſtep to his grand plan for ſecuring permanent power to himſelf, by raiſing his family to the throne, haſtily concluded a marriage between the lady Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and his fourth ſon, lord Guildford Dudley; which was celebrated in the month of May, 1553; and it deſerves notice, that the king's illneſs had increaſed, with dangerous ſymptoms, from the month of January.

In the parliament held a little before the king's death, the duke had procured a conſiderable ſupply to be granted; and, in the preamble of that act, a direct cenſure to be inſerted of the duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration. Having thus anſwered his purpoſes by this meaſure, he diſſolved that parliament. He then artfully ſtated to the king, the neceſſity of ſetting aſide the princeſs Mary, from the danger the Proteſtant religion would be in, if ſhe ſhould ſucceed him. This repreſentation made a deep impreſſion upon the pious young monarch, who readily conceived the fatal conſequences to the nation, which would enſue from the reſtoration of popery, and therefore freely conſented to the excluſion of Mary. But as the princeſs Elizabeth was a proteſtant, and the king bore a tender affection to her, it has perplexed Burnet, and other hiſtorians to underſtand how Northumberland could prevail upon him to ſet her aſide. The difficulty, however, is eaſily reſolved, if we attend to the reaſons of law and ſtate, brought by the crown lawyers, and the politicians, in Northumberland's intereſt, in ſupport of the expediency of excluding both the princeſſes.

The chief juſtice Montague maintained, that the act of 35 Henry VIII. ſettling the crown upon Mary and Elizabeth, after the demiſe of Edward without iſſue, was rendered null and void, by the act of the 38th of the ſame king, by which the marriages of both their mothers were diſſolved, their divorces confirmed, and their iſſue declared illegitimate, ſo that neither the

letters

letters patent, nor the ſubſequent will of the ſaid king, could confer any right of ſucceſſion to the crown, on illegitimate perſons, who were totally diſabled from ſucceeding Edward or any perſon, the act of the 35th limiting the ſucceſſion to legitimate iſſue. Cecil gave it as a reaſon of ſtate, that though Elizabeth was a Proteſtant, ſhe might marry a foreign prince, who might introduce Popery. And theſe arguments moſt aſſuredly prevailed with the king; for they are mentioned in the letters patent, for ſettling the crown on lady Jane Grey. The ſame danger of Popery occaſioned the excluſion of the iſſue of Margaret, queen dowager of Scotland, eldeſt ſiſter of Henry VIII. As to the ducheſs of Suffolk, the next perſon mentioned in Henry's will, ſhe readily entered into Northumberland's views, and yielded her right in favour of her daughter. An inſtrument was accordingly prepared, though not without great oppoſition from ſome of the judges, and being ſigned by the king, on the 21ſt of June, when he was in great debility both of mind and body, it paſſed the great ſeal the next day, and was ſubſcribed by all the privy council, by the biſhops, the major part of the nobility both with reſpect to numbers and conſequence, and by the judges, except Sir James Holles, one of the judges of the common pleas, who conſtantly declared it to be treaſon.

Northumberland, having thus accompliſhed his deſign, nothing remained, but that the king ſhould not long ſurvive, leſt the recovery of his own penetrating judgment with his health, and the application of ſounder advice, ſhould overthrow his cunning devices: therefore, ſoon after the inſtrument had been ſubſcribed by the council, by Northumberland's advice, an order of council iſſued, for diſmiſſing his phyſicians, and for putting him into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook to reſtore him, in a ſhort time, to his former health. Inſtead of which, after the uſe of her medicines, all the bad ſymptoms increaſed, to the

moſt

moſt violent degree: he felt a difficulty of ſpeech, and of breathing; his pulſe failed; his legs ſwelled, his colour became livid, and at length he expired, on the 6th of July, 1553, in the 16th year of his age, and 7th of his reign; leaving great reaſon to believe, from the groſs ignorance and meanneſs of the woman employed, that ſhe was the inſtrument of his deſtruction.

The piety of this prince was as exemplary, as his charity was beneficial to the kingdom, which will never be forgotten, while we behold the hoſpitals of St Bartholomew, St Thomas, and Bridewell, founded and munificently endowed by him. His learning, his modeſt, yet graceful and ſtately deportment, and laſtly his fine perſon, made him the ſubject of univerſal admiration.

The duke of Northumberland endeavoured to conceal Edward's death for ſome time, with a view of drawing the princeſs Mary to court, and ſuch hopes were given of his recovery, that the people made general rejoicings upon the occaſion, and it was on pretext of comforting the king in his illneſs, that the duke wrote to Mary to viſit him. But it is highly probable ſhe had a ſecret party in the council, and that though they had ſubſcribed to the lady Jane's ſucceſſion, either through fear, or from bribery, they now ſent her private intelligence of the king's death; for when ſhe was within half a day's journey of London, ſhe turned back in haſte to her houſe at *Hovedon;* and the duke then carried his daughter-in-law from Durham-houſe to the Tower, where the royal apartments had been prepared for her, and a canopy of ſtate put up. On the 10th, ſhe was proclaimed in the uſual manner. The council alſo wrote to queen Mary, requiring her ſubmiſſion; but they were ſoon informed, that ſhe had retired into Norfolk, where many of the nobility, and multitudes of people, reſorted to her. It was then reſolved to ſend forces againſt her under the command of the duke of Suffolk; but lady Jane would by no means

part

part with her father; and the council earneſtly preſſed the duke of Northumberland to go in perſon; to which he was little inclined, as doubting their fidelity. He ſignified as much in the ſpeech he made at taking his leave, and was anſwered with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that men could give.

On the 14th of July, the duke, accompanied by the marquis of Northampton, the lord Grey, and others, marched through Biſhopſgate with two thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot; but, as they rode through Shoreditch, he could not forebear ſaying to the lord Grey, "The people preſs to ſee us, but none ſay, God ſpeed us." His activity and courage, for which he had been ſo famous, ſeemed, from this time, to have deſerted him; for, though he advanced to St Edmund's-bury, in Suffolk, yet, finding his troops diminiſh, the people little affected to him, and no ſupplies coming from London, though he had wrote to the lords in the moſt preſſing terms, he retired back again to Cambridge.

In the mean time, the council thought of nothing but to get out of the Tower, and at laſt effected it, under pretence of going to the earl of Pembroke's houſe at Baynard's caſtle, to give audience to the foreign ambaſſadors. This was on the 19th of the ſame month; and the firſt thing they did when they came there, was, to ſend for the lord mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs, whom they accompanied to Cheapſide, and there garter-king-at-arms, proclaimed queen Mary. The earl of Arundel, and lord Paget, went the ſame night to pay their duty to her.

The duke of Northumberland had advice of this on the 20th, and, about five in the afternoon, the ſame day, cauſed her to be proclaimed at Cambridge, throwing up his cap, and crying, "God ſave queen Mary!" Northumberland's affected loyalty, however, was of no ſervice to him; for he was arreſted by the queen's command, and on the 18th of Auguſt, brought to his trial, in Weſtminſter-hall, where being found

guilty of high treaſon by his peers, he received ſentence of death. The duke's behaviour under his unhappy circumſtances was, to the laſt degree, mean and abject, from the time of his being arreſted. This intrepid hero, in the field, who had faced every danger by ſea and land; this aſpiring ſtateſman, who had boldly ventured to compaſs his ends, by the moſt perilous meaſures, who knew that treaſon was at the bottom of all his deſigns, when he met with that fate which his knowledge of hiſtory, and even his own conduct to Somerſet and his friends, muſt have taught him to expect, dreaded the approach of death; and, upon his knees, beſought the earl of Arundel, by whom he was arreſted, to intercede with the queen for his life. A greater proof cannot be given, that conſcious guilt makes cowards and fools of the braveſt and the wiſeſt men; for Arundel was the very man who firſt deſerted his cauſe at the council board, notwithſtanding, at the duke's departure, he was the moſt vehement in his proteſtations of attachment to him. After ſentence, he as fooliſhly ſolicited Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, his ſworn foe, to uſe his intereſt to ſave his life: aſking him if there were no hopes, and declaring, that he would be content to do penance and to live in a mouſe-hole, if he could but live a little longer; and Gardiner tauntingly told him, he wiſhed to God, his grace could have been content with any thing leſs than a kingdom, when he was at liberty and in proſperity: to which he added, a ſerious admonition for him to make his peace with God, and prepare for death.

It has been obſerved, at the cloſe of the life of Somerſet, that the people never forgave the duke of Northumberland; and, it is highly probable that this was the chief cauſe of the cold reception he met with from the citizens of London, when he proclaimed Lady Jane, and when he marched through the city with an army to ſupport her title. For, when he was conducted to the

the Tower after his condemnation, many reproached him as he paſſed, and a lady expoſing an handkerchief which had been dipped in the blood of the duke of Somerſet, held it near him, and cried out: "Behold the blood of that worthy man, that good uncle, of our late excellent king, which was ſhed by thy malicious practice, doth now revenge itſelf on thee."

The twenty-firſt of Auguſt, 1553, was the day fixed for his execution: when a vaſt concourſe of people aſſembled upon Tower-hill, all the uſual preparations being made, and the executioner ready; but, after waiting ſome hours, the people were ordered to depart. This delay was to afford time for his making an open ſhew of the change of his religion, ſince that very day, in the preſence of the mayor and aldermen, as well as ſome of the privy-council, he heard maſs in the Tower. The next day, he was actually brought out to ſuffer death, on the ſame ſcaffold on Tower-hill; where he made a very long ſpeech to the people; of which there remains nothing but what relates to his religion; which he not only profeſſed to be then that of the church of Rome, but that it had been always ſo; taking upon himſelf the odious character of a hypocrite in the ſight of God, as well as a diſſembler with men. It is ſtrongly ſuſpected, that he acted this diſgraceful part, in the hopes of ſaving his life; for it is affirmed, that he had a promiſe of pardon, even if his head was upon the block, if he would recant and hear maſs; and this deception was afterwards practiſed by Mary, to procure recantations from unhappy proteſtants, whom ſhe afterwards conſtantly put to death, in violation of the promiſes made in her name, and by her expreſs order.

Having finiſhed his ſpeech to the people, and his private devotions, the executioner aſked him forgiveneſs, to whom he ſaid, "I forgive thee with all my heart, do thy part without fear." And bowing towards the block, he ſaid, "I have deſerved a thou-

ſand deaths." Then laying his head on the block, it was inſtantly ſevered from his body; he was buried in the Tower, in St Peter's church, near the body of the duke of Somerſet.

Thus deſervedly fell John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, whoſe virtues were few, but ſuch as accompliſh the ſtateſman and hero; and if they had not been ſullied by the fouleſt crimes, he might have proved one of the ableſt miniſters England had ever ſeen: for he thoroughly underſtood the political and commercial intereſts of his country; and it muſt not be forgotten, that he greatly promoted the latter. During his ſhort adminiſtration, two inſtances are on record, which conſidered in a national light, are an expiation for many of his faults.

The firſt was the diſſolution of the corporation of the merchants of the *Steel-yard* in London, conſiſting of foreigners, chiefly Germans, ſubjects of the Hans-towns, who engroſſed the management of all the foreign commerce of England, all imports and exports being made in the ſhips of this corporation, by which the Engliſh merchant adventurers ſuffered great loſſes, and were expoſed to frauds of all kinds from the officers and other agents of this ſociety. The complaints of the Engliſh being brought before the privy council, by the advice, and under the patronage of the duke of Northumberland, after they had failed of redreſs in the courts of law, owing to the privileges granted by former kings to the corporation, the duke propoſed the diſſolution of the ſociety, which was carried, and it was accordingly diſſolved, the latter end of the year 1552; and, from this time our foreign trade was encouraged in Engliſh bottoms.

The ſecond was, the eſtabliſhment of a Mart at *Southampton*, for our woollen manufactures, which before were tranſported to *Bruges* and *Antwerp*, at a great expence; for beſides the freight in foreign bottoms, the Engliſh were obliged to have agents and factors

tors ſettled in Flanders, to tranſact this buſineſs. But the new regulation of opening a Mart in England, which took place in 1553, produced a moſt advantageous alteration in this valuable branch of our commerce, and was no leſs favourable to the kingdom in general, as it brought numbers of foreigners to viſit this country, ſome of whom ſettled in it, and contributed to the progreſs, which England made, in arts, manufactures, and commerce, in the age of queen Elizabeth.

*** *Authorities.* Stow's Chronicle. Speed's Hiſtory of England. Lloyd's State Worthies. Sir John Hayward's Life of Edward VI. Fox's Acts and Monuments, &c. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation.

THE LIFE OF

HUGH LATIMER,

BISHOP OF WORCESTER,

(With Memoirs of RIDLEY, Biſhop of LONDON.)

[A. D. 1455, to 1555.]

HUGH LATIMER was born at Thirkeſſon or Thurcaſton, in Leiceſterſhire, about the year 1475. His father was a reputable yeoman, who had no land of his own, but rented a ſmall farm, on which, in thoſe frugal times, he maintained a large family: ſix daughters, and a ſon.

But the beſt account of this family, is given in one of his Lent ſermons, preached before Edward VI. wherein, after exclaiming againſt the incloſures of common lands, and other oppreſſions, practiſed at that time, by the nobility and gentry, he takes notice of

the moderation of the landlords a few years before, and of the eaſe and plenty enjoyed by the tenants; as a proof of which, he adds, "That upon a farm of four pounds a year at the utmoſt, his father tilled as much ground as kept half a dozen men; that he had it ſtocked with an hundred ſheep, and thirty cows; that he found the king a man and horſe, himſelf remembring to have buckled on his father's harneſs, when he went to Blackheath; that he gave his daughters five pounds a-piece at marriage; that he lived hoſpitably among his neighbours, and was not backward in his alms to the poor."

The juvenile part of Latimer's life affords nothing worthy our notice; we ſhall therefore introduce him to our readers, at the time when he firſt appeared upon the theatre of the world, and began to act a conſpicuous part. This happened about the year 1500, when having taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, at Chriſt's college in Cambridge, and entered into Prieſt's orders, his zeal for the doctrines of the Romiſh church manifeſted itſelf by violent declamations againſt the German reformers, whoſe opinions began to be propagated in England, and to gain ground. If any profeſſor, ſuſpected of favouring their tenets, read lectures, he attended, and the univerſity in recompence for his zeal, having given him the office of croſs bearer, he exerciſed ſome authority over the ſcholars, driving them from the ſchools of theſe lecturers.

But fortunately for the church of England, of which he afterwards became an illuſtrious prelate, Mr Latimer became acquainted with Mr Thomas Bilney; who having entertained favourable ſentiments of Latimer from his moral character, in which alone there was at that time any ſimilarity between them, conceived an opinion, that by communicating to him the obſervations he had long made on the ſcandalous lives of the monks and the Romiſh clergy, and comparing them with the exemplary conduct of the reformers, he might

might induce Latimer to think more favourably of their writings and opinions. Thus prepoſſeſſed with the idea of converting him, and having entered into ſome conferences with him on religious ſubjects, Mr Bilney took proper opportunities, to hint that ſome of the tenets of the Romiſh church, were not conſonant to primitive Chriſtianity; and by degrees he raiſed doubts, and a ſpirit of enquiry in Latimer's mind, who had always acted though erroneouſly, upon honeſt principles; and in the end, he was fully convinced of the errors of the Romiſh church, which he abandoned, and from this time he became very active in ſupporting and propagating the reformed opinions. He endeavoured with great aſſiduity to make converts, both in town, and in the univerſity; preaching in public, exhorting in private, and every where preſſing the neceſſity of a holy life, in oppoſition to the ſuperſtitious ceremonies, and external acts of devotion, which prevailed in the Romiſh religion.

The firſt remarkable oppoſition that he met with from the Popiſh party, was occaſioned by a courſe of ſermons which he preached during the feſtival of Chriſtmas, before the univerſity, in which he ſpoke his ſentiments concerning the impiety of indulgences, the uncertainty of tradition, and the vanity of works of ſupererogation. He inveighed againſt the multiplicity of ceremonies with which religion was then iucumbered, and the pride and uſurpation of the Romiſh hierarchy: but chiefly he dwelt upon the great abuſe of locking up the ſcriptures in an unknown tongue; giving his reaſons without any reſerve, why they ought to be put in every one's hand.

Great was the outcry occaſioned by theſe diſcourſes. Mr Latimer was then a preacher of ſome eminence, and began to diſplay a remarkable addreſs in adapting himſelf to the capacities of the people. The orthodox clergy obſerving him thus followed, thought it high time to oppoſe him openly. This taſk was undertaken

dertaken by Dr Buckenham, prior of the Black Friars, who appeared in the pulpit a few Sudays after, and with great pomp and prolixity, endeavoured to ſhew the dangerous tendency of Mr Latimer's opinions: particularly he inveighed againſt his heretical notion of having the ſcriptures publiſhed in Engliſh, laying open the ill effects of ſuch an innovation. "If that hereſy, ſaid he, were to prevail, we ſhould ſoon ſee an end of every thing uſeful among us. The ploughman reading, that if he put his hand to the plough, and ſhould happen to look back, he was unfit for the kingdom of God, would ſoon lay aſide his labour: the baker likewiſe reading, that little leaven will corrupt his lump, would give us very inſipid bread: the ſimple man likewiſe finding himſelf commanded to pluck out his eyes, in a few years we ſhould have the nation full of blind beggars."

Mr Latimer could not help liſtening with ſecret pleaſure to this ingenious reaſoning. Perhaps, he had acted as prudently, if he had conſidered the prior's arguments as unanſwerable; but he could not reſiſt the vivacity of his temper, which ſtrongly inclined him to expoſe this ſolemn trifler. The whole univerſity met together on the Sunday, when it was known Mr Latimer would preach. A vein of pleaſantry and humour ran through all his words and actions, which, it was imagined, would here have full ſcope: and the preacher was not a little conſcious of his own ſuperiority. To complete the ſcene, juſt before the ſermon began, Buckenham himſelf entered the church, with his friar's cowl about his ſhoulders, and ſeated himſelf, with an air of importance, before the pulpit.

Mr Latimer, with great gravity, recapitulated the learned doctor's arguments, placed them in the ſtrongeſt light, and then rallied them with ſuch a flow of wit, and at the ſame time with ſo much good humour, that without the appearance of ill-nature, he made his adverſary in the higheſt degree ridiculous. He then, with great

great addreſs, appealed to the people, deſcanted upon the low eſteem in which their holy guides had always held their underſtanding, expreſſed the utmoſt offence at their being treated with ſuch contempt, aud wiſhed his honeſt countrymen might only have the uſe of the ſcriptures till they ſhewed themſelves ſuch abſurd interpreters. He concluded his diſcourſe with a few obſervations upon ſcripture metaphors. A figurative manner of ſpeech, he ſaid, was common in all languages: repreſentations of this kind were in daily uſe, and generally underſtood. "Thus, for inſtance, ſaid he, (addreſſing himſelf to that part of the audience where the prior was ſeated) when we ſee a fox painted, preaching in a friar's hood, nobody imagines that a fox is meant, but that craft and hypocriſy are deſcribed, which are ſo often found diſguiſed in that garb."

But it is probable, that Mr Latimer thought this levity unbecoming; for when one Venetus, a foreigner, not long after, attacked him again upon the ſame ſubject, and in a manner the moſt ſcurrilous and provoking, we find him uſing a graver ſtrain. He anſwers like a ſcholar, what is worth anſwering; and, like a man of ſenſe, leaves the abſurd part to confute itſelf. But whether jocoſe or ſerious, his harangues were ſo animated, that they ſeldom failed of their intended effect: his raillery ſhut up the prior within his monaſtery, and his ſolid arguments drove Venetus from the univerſity.

The Proteſtant cauſe ſoon acquired great credit at Cambridge by the joint labours of Bilney and Latimer, whoſe lives ſtrictly correſponded with the purity of the doctrines they taught; and no academical cenſures were found ſufficient to deter the ſtudents from following theſe eminent reformers.

Dr Weſt the dioceſan was applied to, to ſilence Latimer, which he did, after he had heard him preach, though he had expreſſed his approbation of his diſcourſe He, however, prohibited him from preaching in any

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of the churches within his dioceſe. But this gave no great check to the reformers; for there happened at that time to be a prior in Cambridge, Dr Barnes, of the Auſtin Friars, who favoured the principles of the Reformation. His monaſtery was exempt from epiſcopal juriſdiction, and being a great admirer of Mr Latimer, he boldly licenſed him to preach there. Hither his party followed him; and the late oppoſition having greatly excited the curioſity of the people, the friars chapel was ſoon unable to contain the crowds that attended.

This ſucceſs which Mr Latimer had thus gained by preaching, he maintained by ſanctity of manners. Nor did Mr Bilney and he ſatisfy themſelves with acting unexceptionably, but were daily giving inſtances of true piety and benevolence, which malice could not ſcandalize, nor envy miſinterpret. They were always together concerting meaſures for the advancement of true religion; and the place, where they uſed to walk, was long afterwards known by the name of the Heretics hill. Cambridge at the ſame time was full of their good actions: their charities to the poor, and friendly viſits to the ſick and unhappy, were common topics of converſation.

At length heavy complaints were ſent to the miniſtry at London, of the ſurpriſing increaſe of hereſy, and Latimer was accuſed as the principal propagator of the new opinions; and cardinal Wolſey, being importuned by Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhops at court, ſent for Latimer to appear before him at York-houſe, but after ſome private converſation, he diſmiſſed him courteouſly, and granted him a ſpecial licence, to preach in all parts of England.

Mr Latimer then returned to Cambridge, but ſoon after he extended his pious deſigns of reformation, by preaching in different parts of the kingdom, and he, once or twice, had the honour to preach before Henry VIII. at Windſor, upon which occaſions, the king had

had taken particular notice of him. This encouraged him to write a very bold letter to his majeſty, when the royal proclamation was iſſued, forbidding the uſe of the bible in Engliſh, and other books on religious ſubjects. From the time that the Reformation was firſt encouraged in England by private perſons, the promoters of it, had continually diſperſed among the people, a variety of polemical tracts, and others, expoſing the corrupt lives of the clergy, and the monks. Theſe books were printed abroad; and after the reformers took the name of PROTESTANTS, (which they did at the diet held at *Spires* in 1529, from the PROTEST they then and there made againſt the errors of Popery) they ſent them over in great quantities to their brethren in England; and amongſt other works, a tranſlation of the new teſtament: againſt theſe the proclamation was levelled. It impowered the biſhops to impriſon, at pleaſure, all perſons ſuſpected of having heretical books, till the party had purged himſelf, or abjured; it likewiſe authoriſed the biſhop to ſet an arbitrary fine upon all perſons convicted; and it prohibited all appeals from the eccleſiaſtical courts, and ordered the civil officers on their allegiance, to aid the biſhops in the extirpation of hereſy. As the cruel bigotry of the clergy rendered this proclamation extremely fatal, ſome perſons having been burnt for reading the bible, and others for teaching their children the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, Latimer, with pious fortitude, remonſtrated againſt it in his letter to the king, the ſcope of which is to point out the evil intentions of the biſhops in obtaining the proclamation, to guard the king againſt the malevolence of thoſe, who inſinuated that the reformers were a ſet of ſeditious men, who would diſturb the peace of the kingdom; and to convince him, that the free uſe of the ſcriptures would make the people better, inſtead of worſe ſubjects, as it had been falſely repreſented to his majeſty; and after vouching for the good characters of

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the unfortunate perſons then in cuſtody, he makes the following nervous, pathetic concluſion:

"Accept, gracious ſovereign, without diſpleaſure, what I have written. I thought it my duty to mention theſe things to your majeſty. No perſonal quarrel, as God ſhall judge me, have I with any man: I wanted only to induce your majeſty to conſider well what kind of perſons you have about you, and the ends for which they counſel: indeed, great prince, many of them, or they are much ſlandered, have very private ends. God grant your majeſty may ſee through all the deſigns of evil men; and be, in all things, equal to the high office with which you are entruſted! But gracious king, remember yourſelf; have pity upon your own ſoul; and think that the day is at hand, when you ſhall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been ſhed by your ſword. In the which day, that your grace may ſtand ſtedfaſtly, and not be aſhamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon ſealed with the blood of our Saviour Chriſt, which only ſerveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him who ſuffered death for our ſins. The ſpirit of God preſerve you!"

With ſuch freedom did this worthy man addreſs his ſovereign; but the influence of the Popiſh party was then ſo great, that his letter produced no effect. But Henry, who, notwithſtanding his vices, had an open, free diſpoſition, and was a great lover of ſincerity in others, thanked him for his well meant advice; and Mr Latimer's plain, familiar ſtyle, made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that from this time, it appears the king entertained thoughts of taking him into his ſervice.

Favourable opportunities ſoon offered for recommending Mr Latimer to the good graces of the king; for in the grand points of the divorce, and of the ſupremacy, he exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly at Cambridge, in favour of the king's deſigns; eſpecially in the affair

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of the ſupremacy, joining with Dr Butts, the king's phyſician, in obtaining the opinions of ſeveral divines and canoniſts in Cambridge, in ſupport of that meaſure. Theſe divines were in the Proteſtant intereſt, and probably Butts would not have ſucceeded in his commiſſion, which was to gain them over, if Latimer had not aſſiſted them. In return for this favour, Dr Butts took Mr Latimer with him to court in 1535; and Cromwell, who was riſing into power, and favouring the Reformation, having already conceived a very high opinion of him, very ſoon procured him a benefice.

This living was in Wiltſhire, whither Mr Latimer reſolved, as ſoon as poſſible, to repair, and keep a conſtant reſidence. His friend Dr Butts, ſurpriſed at his reſolution, did what he could to perſuade him from it. He was deſerting, he told him, the faireſt appearances of making his fortune. But Mr Latimer was not a man, on whom ſuch arguments had any weight. He left the court, therefore, and entered immediately upon the duties of his pariſh; hoping to be of ſome uſe in the world, by faithfully exerting, in a private ſtation, ſuch abilities as God had given him. His behaviour was ſuitable to his reſolutions. He thoroughly conſidered the duties of a clergyman; and diſcharged them in the moſt conſcientious manner. Nor was he ſatisfied with diſcharging them in his own pariſh, but extended his labours throughout the country, where he obſerved the paſtoral care moſt neglected; having, for this purpoſe, obtained a general licence from the univerſity of Cambridge.

His preaching which was in a ſtrain wholly different from the preaching of the times, ſoon made him acceptable to the people; among whom, in a little time, he eſtabliſhed himſelf in great credit. He was treated likewiſe very civilly by the neighbouring gentry; and at Briſtol, where he often preached, he was countenanced by the magiſtrates. The reputation he was

thus daily gaining, preſently alarmed the orthodox clergy in thoſe parts; and their oppoſition to him appeared firſt on the following occaſion: the mayor of Briſtol had appointed him to preach there on Eaſter-ſunday. Public notice had been given, and all people were pleaſed; when ſuddenly there came out an order from the biſhop of Briſtol, prohibiting any one to preach there without his licence. The clergy of the place waited on Mr Latimer, informed him of the biſhop's order, and, knowing that he had no ſuch licence, "were extremely ſorry, that they were, by that means, deprived of the pleaſure of hearing an excellent diſcourſe from him." Mr Latimer received their civility with a ſmile; for he had been appriſed of the affair, and well knew, that theſe were the very perſons who had written to the biſhop againſt him.

Their oppoſition to him became afterwards more public. Some of them aſcended the pulpit in their zeal, and inveighed againſt him with great indecency of language. Of theſe the moſt forward was one Hubberdin, an empty, impudent prieſt, who could ſay nothing of his own, but any thing that was put into his mouth. Through this inſtrument, and others of the ſame kind, ſuch liberties were taken with Mr Latimer's character, that he thought it proper, at length, to juſtify himſelf; and, accordingly, called upon his calumniators to accuſe him publicly before the mayor of Briſtol. And, with all men of candour he was juſtified; for, when that magiſtrate convened both parties, and put the accuſers upon producing legal proof of what they had ſaid, nothing reproachable appeared againſt him, but the whole accuſation was left to reſt upon the uncertain evidence of ſome hear-ſay information.

His enemies, however, were not thus ſilenced. The party againſt him became daily ſtronger and more inflamed. It conſiſted, in general, of the country prieſts of thoſe parts, headed by ſome divines of more eminence.

nence. Theſe perſons, after mature deliberation, drew up articles againſt him, extracted chiefly from his ſermons; in which he was charged with ſpeaking lightly of the worſhip of ſaints; with ſaying, that there was no material fire in hell; and, that he had rather be in purgatory, than in Lollard's tower. Theſe articles, in the form of an accuſation, were laid before Stokeſley, biſhop of London. This prelate immediately cited Mr Latimer to appear before him. But Mr Latimer, inſtead of obeying the citation, appealed to his own ordinary; thinking himſelf wholly exempt from the juriſdiction of any other biſhop. Stokeſley, upon this, making a private cauſe of it, was determined at any rate to get him in his power. He applied therefore to archbiſhop Warham, who was prevailed upon to iſſue a citation from his own court, which Mr Latimer obeyed. His friends perſuaded him to leave the country; but their intreaties were in vain; and he ſet out for London, though it was in the depth of winter, and he was at this time labouring under a ſevere fit both of the ſtone and cholic. But his bodily complaints did not give him ſo much pain as the thoughts of leaving his pariſh expoſed, where the Popiſh clergy would not fail to undo, in his abſence, what he had hitherto done. When he arrived in London, he found a court of biſhops and canoniſts aſſembled to receive him; where, inſtead of being examined, as he expected, about his ſermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to ſubſcribe. It declared his belief in the doctrine of purgatory; the efficacy of maſſes for the ſouls therein; of prayers to the ſaints; of pilgrimages to their ſepulchres and relics; of the perpetual obligation of vows of celibacy, unleſs diſpenſed with by the pope; of the papal power to forgive ſins; of the worſhip of images; of the ſeven ſacraments, and other abſurd uſages of the Romiſh church.

Mr Latimer having read over the contents, returned the paper, refuſing to ſign it. The archbiſhop, with

a frown, desired he would consider what he did. "We intend not," says he, "Mr Latimer, to be hard upon you; we dismiss you, for the present: take a copy of the articles; examine them carefully; and God grant, that, at our next meeting, we may find each other in better temper."

At the next meeting, and at several succeeding ones, the same scene was acted over again: both sides continued inflexible. The bishops, however, being determed, if possible, to make him comply, began to treat him with more severity. Of one of these examinations he gives us the following account.

"I was brought out," says he, "to be examined in a chamber, where I was wont to be examined: but at this time it was somewhat altered. For, whereas before there was a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney; and the table stood near the chimney's end. There was, among these bishops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and whom I took for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table end. Then, among other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one; and, when I should make answer, "I pray you, Mr Latimer," said he, "speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off." I marvelled at this, that I was bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen plainly scratching behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all my answers, that I should not start from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answers; I could never else have escaped them."

Thus the bishops continued to distress Mr Latimer; examining him three times every week, with a view either to draw something from him by captious questions, or to teaze him at length into a compliance: and indeed, at length, he was tired out. Accordingly, when

when he was next ſummoned, inſtead of going himſelf, he ſent a letter to the archbiſhop; in which, with great freedom, he tells them, That the treatment he had of late met with, had fretted him into ſuch a diſorder, as rendered him unfit to attend that day: that, in the mean time, he could not help taking this opportunity to expoſtulate with his grace, for detaining him ſo long from the diſcharge of his duty: that it ſeemed to him moſt unaccountable, that they, who never preached themſelves, ſhould hinder others: that, as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progreſs: that, if his ſermons were what gave offence, which, he perſuaded himſelf, were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to anſwer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them: that he wiſhed a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people; and, that a diſtinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man: that, if ſome abuſes in religion did prevail, (as was then commonly ſuppoſed) he thought preaching was the beſt means to diſcountenance them: that he wiſhed that all paſtors might be obliged to perform their duty: but that, however, liberty might be given to thoſe who were willing: that, as for the articles propoſed to him, he begged to be excuſed from ſubſcribing them; while he lived he never would abet ſuperſtition: and, that, laſtly, he hoped the archbiſhop would excuſe what he had written; he knew his duty to his ſuperiors, and would practiſe it; but, in that caſe, he thought a ſtronger obligation laid upon him

Mr Latimer had indeed a very narrow eſcape, owing entirely to his friends about the king; for this very eccleſiaſtical court had proceeded nearly in the ſame manner with his worthy friend Mr Bilney, who after a ſimilar examination, had been purſuaded by Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, to recant, and bear a faggot upon

his ſhoulder, in token of ſubmiſſion. This happned in 1528, and Bilney afterwards feeling great remorſe of conſcience for his recantation, became extremely melancholy, after which he went about preaching the Reformation, and confeſſing the guilt of his abjuration, till at length in the year 1531, he was apprehended by the biſhop of Norwich, and was burnt the ſame year, in purſuance of a writ from the eccleſiaſtical court at London, for his execution, as a relapſed heretic.

What particular effect Latimer's letter produced, we are not informed; but the king, apprized of the ill uſage he had met with, moſt probably by the lord Cromwell's means, interpoſed in his behalf, and reſcued him out of the hands of his enemies.

The ſteady attachment Mr Latimer had ſhewn to the cauſe of the Reformation, the aſſiſtance he had given in forwarding the divorce, and the great ſervices he might perform in a more conſpicuous ſtation, were ſtrong inducements to engage the queen, Anne Boleyn, and the lord Cromwell, now prime miniſter, to ſolicit his promotion. They, therefore, jointly recommended him to the king for one of the biſhopricks, Worceſter or Saliſbury, both vacant at this time, by the deprivation of Ghinuccii, and Campegio, two Italian biſhops, who fell under the king's diſpleaſure upon his rupture with Rome.

The king thus powerfully ſolicited, and being himſelf much diſpoſed to favour Mr Latimer, offered him the ſee of Worceſter, which he accepted in 1535, and was thus ſcreened for the preſent from the malice of his enemies.

All the hiſtorians of theſe times mention him as a perſon remarkably zealous in the diſcharge of his new functions. In reforming the clergy of his dioceſe, which he thought the chief branch of the epiſcopal office, he was uncommonly active and reſolute. With the ſame ſpirit, he preſided over his eccleſiaſtical court; and he was frequent and attentive in his viſitations;

ſations; in ordaining, ſtrict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; in reproving and exhorting, ſevere and perſuaſive.

Thus far he could act with authority: but in other things, he found himſelf under difficulties. The ceremonies of the Popiſh worſhip gave him great offence; and he neither durſt, in times ſo dangerous and unſettled, lay them entirely aſide; nor, on the other hand, was he willing to retain them. In this dilemma his addreſs was admirable. He enquired into their origin; and, when he found any of them derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate that original meaning in the room of a corrupt interpretation. Thus he put the people in mind, when bread and water were diſtributed, that theſe elements, which had long been thought endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages to the two ſacraments of the Lord's Supper, and Baptiſm: the former, he ſaid, reminded us of Chriſt's death; and the latter was only a ſimple repreſentation of our being purified from ſin.

While his endeavours to reform were thus confined within his own dioceſe, he was called upon to exert them in a more public manner; having received a ſummons to attend the parliament and convocation. This meeting was opened, in the uſual form, by a Latin ſermon, or rather an oration, ſpoken by biſhop Latimer, whoſe eloquence was, at this time, every where famous. But, as he did not diſtingiuſh himſelf in the debates of this convocation, which ran very high between the Proteſtant and Popiſh parties; we ſhall only add, that an animated attempt was at this time made to get him and Cranmer ſtigmatiſed by ſome public cenſure: but, through their own and Cromwell's intereſt, they were too well eſtabliſhed to fear any open attack from their enemies.

In the mean while, the biſhop of Worceſter, highly ſatisfied with the proſpect of a reformation, repaired to

to his dioceſe, having made no longer ſtay in London than was abſolutely neceſſary. He had no talents, and he knew that he had none, for ſtate-affairs; and therefore he meddled not with them. His whole ambition was, to diſcharge the paſtoral functions of a biſhop, neither aiming to diſplay the abilities of the ſtateſman, nor thoſe of the courtier. How very unqualified he was to ſupport the latter of theſe characters, will ſufficiently appear from the following ſtory.

It was the cuſtom, in thoſe days, for the biſhops to make preſents to the king, upon the firſt day of a new year; and many of them would preſent very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their expectations. Among the reſt, the biſhop of Worceſter, being at this time in town, waited upon the king with his offering; but, inſtead of a purſe of gold, which was the common oblation, he preſented a New Teſtament, with a leaf doubled down in a very conſpicuous manner, to this paſſage, "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge."

After he had reſided about two years in his dioceſe, he was again ſummoned to London in 1539, to attend the buſineſs of parliament. Soon after his arrival, he was accuſed before the king of preaching a ſeditious ſermon. This ſermon he had preached at court, and according to his cuſtom, had been, unqueſtionably ſevere enough againſt whatever he obſerved amiſs. His accuſer, who is ſaid to have been a perſon of great eminence about the king, was moſt probably Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter; who at this time was coming into great favour at court, and had alienated the king's mind from the Proteſtant intereſt. But Latimer being called upon by the king, with ſome ſternneſs, to vindicate himſelf, was ſo far from denying or even palliating, what he had ſaid, that he boldly juſtified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern which a good conſcience inſpires, made this anſwer: "I never thought myſelf worthy, nor I never ſued to be a preacher

preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you miſlike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am; and if it be your grace's pleaſure to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would deſire you to give me leave to diſcharge my conſcience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed, to have preached ſo at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace." The greatneſs of this anſwer baffled his accuſer's malice; the ſeverity of the king's countenance, changed into a gracious ſmile; and the biſhop was diſmiſſed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never uſed, but to thoſe whom he eſteemed.

About this time, the ſix articles of religion, having paſſed both houſes, received the royal aſſent: they were juſtly ſtyled the bloody articles, by the Proteſtants, who foreſaw that they were calculated to reſtore the Romiſh religion. It was enacted by the ſtatute, that, whoever ſhould deny the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, either in ſpeech or by writing, ſhould be adjudged to be heretics, and burnt without any abjuration being admitted, and their eſtates be forfeited to the king:—that whoever ſhould maintain the neceſſity of communicating in both ſpecies;—affirm, that it was lawful for prieſts to marry;—that vows of chaſtity might be violated;—that private maſſes were uſeleſs;—or that auricular confeſſion was not neceſſary to ſalvation, were to be adjudged felons, and to ſuffer death as ſuch, without benefit of clergy.

Thus Papiſts and Proteſtants, by the verſatility of the king's diſpoſition and the violence of his temper, were alike expoſed to the flames; the one if they denied the king's ſupremacy, the other if they oppoſed the ſix articles. Our worthy prelate was one of the firſt who took offence at theſe articles: he refuſed to give his

his vote in favour of them, and he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church where ſuch terms of communion were required. He, therefore, reſigned his biſhopric. It is related of him, that when he came from the parliament houſe to his lodgings, he threw off his robes, and leaping up, declared to thoſe who ſtood about him, "That he thought himſelf lighter, than ever he found himſelf before."

After this he immediately retired into the country, where he thought of nothing, for the remainder of his days, but a ſequeſtered life. But having received a bruiſe by the fall of a tree, and the contuſion being ſo dangerous, that he was obliged to ſeek out for better aſſiſtance than could be afforded him by the unſkilful ſurgeons of thoſe parts, he repaired again to London. Here he found things ſtill in a worſe condition than he left them. The duke of Norfolk, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, who were the principal inſtruments in the ruin of the earl of Eſſex, were now at the head of the Popiſh party; and under the direction of theſe zealots, ſuch a ſcene of blood enſued, as England had not yet ſeen. Latimer, among others, felt the effects of their bigotry; their emiſſaries ſoon found him, and accuſed him of having ſpoken againſt the ſtatutes of the ſix articles, in conſequence of which he was committed to the Tower. It does not appear, that any formal proceſs was carried on againſt him, or that he was ever judicially examined. He ſuffered, however, under one pretence or other, a cruel impriſonment during the remainder of king Henry's reign.

After remaining in the Tower upwards of ſix years, in the conſtant practice of every Chriſtian virtue, upon the acceſſion of Edward VI. he and all others who were impriſoned in the ſame cauſe, were ſet at liberty; and Latimer, whoſe old friends were now in power, was received by them with every mark of affection. Heath had ſucceeded him in the biſhopric of Worceſter; and the parliament ſent an addreſs to the protector,

tor, begging him to reſtore Mr Latimer to the biſhopric of Worceſter, which greatly diſtreſſed Heath, who was a violent bigot to the Romiſh church, and was deprived in 1550. But on the reſumption being propoſed to Latimer, he deſired to be excuſed, alledging his great age, and the claim he had from thence to a private life. Having thus rid himſelf of all incumbrances, he accepted an invitation from his friend, archbiſhop Cranmer, and took up his reſidence at Lambeth, where he led a very retired life.

His chief employment was to hear the complaints, and to redreſs the injuries of the poor people; and his character for ſervices of this kind was ſo univerſally known, that ſtrangers, from every part of England, would reſort to him, vexed either by the delays of public courts and offices, or harraſſed by the oppreſſions of the great. In theſe occupations, and in aſſiſting archbiſhop Cranmer to compoſe the homilies, which were ſet forth by authority, in the firſt year of king Edward, he ſpent upwards of two years.

But as he was one of the moſt eloquent and popular preachers in England, he was appointed during the three firſt years of king Edward, to preach the Lent ſermons before the king. And upon theſe occaſions, he attacked the vices of the great with honeſt freedom and charged them particularly with covetouſneſs, bribery, and extortion from the poor, ſo home, that it was impoſſible for them, by any ſelf deceit, to avoid the direct application of his reproofs to themſelves.

Upon the revolution at court, after the duke of Somerſet's death, he retired into the country, and made uſe of the king's licence, as a general preacher, in thoſe parts where he thought his labours might be moſt uſeful: but, upon the acceſſion of queen Mary, he ſoon loſt this liberty. The biſhop of Wincheſter, who had proſcribed him with the firſt, ſent a meſſenger to cite him before the council. He had notice of this deſign ſome hours before the meſſenger's arrival, but he made

no

no uſe of the intelligence; like other eminent reformers of that time, he choſe rather to meet, than avoid perſecution.

The meſſenger therefore found him equipped for his journey: at which expreſſing his ſurprize, Mr Latimer told him, That he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to anſwer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life: and, that he doubted not but that God, who had already enabled him to ſtand before two princes, would enable him to ſtand before a third. The meſſenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to ſeize his perſon, delivered a letter and departed. From which it is plain, that they choſe rather to drive him out of the kingdom, than to bring him to any public queſtion.

Mr Latimer, upon opening the letter, and finding it to contain a citation from the council, reſolved to obey it. He ſet out, therefore, immediately for London. As he paſſed through Smithfield, where heretics were uſually burnt, he ſaid chearfully, "This place hath long groaned for me." The next morning he waited upon the council, who having loaded him with many ſevere reproaches, ſent him to the Tower.

This was but a repetition of a former part of his life; only he now met with harſher treatment, and had more frequent occaſions to exerciſe his reſignation; which virtue no man more eminently poſſeſſed, neither did the uſual chearfulneſs of his diſpoſition now forſake him; of which we have a remarkable inſtance on record. A ſervant going out of his apartment, Mr Latimer called after him, and bid him tell his maſter, That, unleſs he took better care of him, he ſhould certainly eſcape him. Upon this meſſage, the lieutenant, with ſome diſcompoſure in his countenance, came to him, and deſired an explanation of what he had ſaid to his ſervant. "Why, you expect, I ſuppoſe, Mr lieutenant," replied Mr Latimer, "that I ſhould be burned; but, if you do not allow me a little fire this froſty weather,

weather, I can tell you I ſhall firſt be ſtarved with cold."

About the ſame time archbiſhop Cranmer, and Ridley, biſhop of London, were committed to the Tower; of the former we ſhall take little notice at preſent, referring the reader to his life, in its proper place; but we ſhall here introduce ſuch memoirs of biſhop Ridley, as will be ſufficient to do honour to his memory, without breaking-in upon our enlarged hiſtorical plan, by inſerting all the unintereſting incidents of his life.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY firſt made himſelf conſpicuous at Cambridge, in 1530; after having ſpent ſome time in the ſtudy of divinity at the Sorbonne at Paris, and at the univerſity of Louvaine in Flanders. At this time two vain young ſtudents of Oxford, came to Cambridge, and challenged the whole univerſity to a public diſputation on the two following queſtions. The firſt was, Whether the civil law was more excellent (as a profeſſion) than medicine? The ſecond, Whether a woman condemned to death, being twice tied up, and the cords breaking, ought to be tied up again? No mention is made which ſide of theſe frivolous queſtions Mr Ridley took, but it is certain, that he ſoon baffled one of the antagoniſts, and the other feigning ſickneſs, the diſputation ended, and the victory was aſcribed to Mr Ridley of Univerſity College, though he had four aſſociates.

In 1536, archbiſhop Cranmer hearing of his great reputation as a man of extenſive learning, made him one of his chaplains, and being better pleaſed with him on a familiar acquaintance, he gave him the Vicarage of Herne in Kent, and ever after became his patron.

In 1543, a fruitleſs attempt was made by the Popiſh biſhops to ruin Mr Ridley and his patron, though Mr Ridley at this time only objected to ſome of the ſix bloody articles, and ſtill believed in the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. But in 1545, having read ſome tracts publiſhed by the Zuinglians, in Germany, on the

doctrine of the ſacrament, in which tranſubſtantiation was proved to be an innovation of the church of Rome, he became a thorough convert to all the tenets of the Reformation. In 1548, he was promoted to the ſee of Rocheſter; and upon the deprivation of Bonner, he was tranſlated to that of London, to which Weſtminſter, being ſuppreſſed, was united, the following year.

In 1551, biſhop Ridley gave a ſtriking proof of his piety and goodneſs, for though the ſweating ſickneſs raged violently at London, and was as fatal as the plague, he reſided, and aſſiduouſly endeavoured to make this public calamity of uſe, by preaching repentance, and a reformation of manners.

It was this worthy prelate, who in 1553, preached the excellent ſermon on charity before king Edward VI. which induced the pious young monarch to found the hoſpitals, as mentioned in the life of the duke of Northumberland. Thus worthily did he fill his high ſtation in the church; and being zealous for the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, after the king's death, he preached at St Paul's, in obedience to an order of council, recommending lady Jane Grey to the people as their lawful queen. For this offence, upon Mary's acceſſion, he was committed to the Tower, with Cranmer, engaged in the ſame cauſe; and this bigoted queen, though ſhe might have tried them with the other ſtate priſoners for treaſon, choſe rather to proceed againſt them as heretics.

After the three biſhops had been impriſoned ſome months in the Tower, the convocation ſent them, under the care of the lieutenant of the Tower, to Oxford, to be preſent at a public diſputation to be held there; when it was ſaid, the long depending controverſy between the Papiſts and the Proteſtants, would be finally determined by the moſt eminent divines of both parties. But when they arrived there, which was in March 1554, they were all cloſely confined in the common priſon, and denied the uſe of pen, ink, and paper,

paper; a plain proof that no free diſputation was intended. In this comfortleſs ſituation their chief reſource was in prayer, in which they ſpent great part of every day. Mr Latimer, particularly, would often continue kneeling till he was not able to riſe without help. The principal ſubject of his prayers was, that God would enable him to maintain the profeſſion of his religion to the laſt; that God would again reſtore his Goſpel to England; and preſerve the princeſs Elizabeth to be a comfort to this land.

Fox has preſerved a conference, afterwards committed to writing, which was held at this time, between Ridley and Latimer.

The two biſhops are repreſented ſitting in their priſon, ruminating upon the ſolemn preparations then making for their trial, of which probably they were now firſt informed. Biſhop Ridley firſt broke ſilence. "The time," ſaid he, "is now come; we are now called upon either to deny our faith, or to ſuffer death in its defence. You, Mr Latimer, are an old ſoldier of Chriſt, and have frequently withſtood the fear of death; whereas I am raw in the ſervice, and unexperienced." With this preface he introduces a requeſt, that Mr Latimer, whom he calls his father, would hear him propoſe ſuch arguments as he thought it moſt likely his adverſaries would urge againſt him, and aſſiſt him in providing himſelf with proper anſwers to them. To this, Mr Latimer, in his uſual ſtrain of good humour, anſwered, That, he fancied the good biſhop was treating him, as he remembered Mr Bilney uſed formerly to do, who, when he wanted to teach him, would always do it under colour of being taught himſelf. "But, in the preſent caſe," ſaid he, "my lord, I am determined for myſelf, to give them very little trouble. I ſhall juſt offer them a plain account of my faith, and ſhall ſay very little more; for I know any thing more will be to no purpoſe. They talk of a free diſputation; but, I am well aſſured their grand argu-

ment will be, that of their forefathers: We have a law, and by our law, ye ought to die." However, upon Mr Ridley's preſſing his requeſt, they went upon the examination he deſired.

This part of their conference contains only the common arguments againſt the tenets of Popery. When they had finiſhed this exerciſe, Ridley deſired Latimer's prayers, that he might be enabled to truſt in God.

"Of my prayers," replied the old biſhop, "you may be well aſſured; nor do I doubt but that I ſhall have your's in return. And, indeed, prayer and patience ſhould be our great reſources. For myſelf, had I the learning of St Paul, I ſhould think it ill laid out upon an elaborate defence. Yet our caſe, my lord, admits of comfort. Our enemies can do no more than God permits; and God is faithful; who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength. Be at a point with them; ſtand to that, and let them ſay and do what they pleaſe. To uſe many words would be in vain; yet it is requiſite to give a reaſonable account of your faith, if they will hear you. For other things, in a wicked judgment-hall, a man may keep ſilence after the example of Chriſt. As for their ſophiſtry, you know falſhood may often be diſplayed in the colours of truth. But, above all things, be upon your guard againſt the fear of death. This is the great argument you muſt oppoſe.—Poor Shaxton! (biſhop of Saliſbury, who recanted, and then became a perſecutor of the Proteſtants), it is to be feared this argument had the greateſt weight in his recantation. But let us be ſtedfaſt, and unmoveable; aſſuring ourſelves that we cannot be more happy, than by being ſuch Philippians, as not only believe in Chriſt, but dare ſuffer for his ſake."

The commiſſioners from the convocation arrived at Oxford in April, and aſſembled at St Mary's church, where, being arrayed in ſcarlet, they ſeated themſelves before the high altar, and placing the prolocutor Dr Weſton,

Weſton, in the middle, they ſent for the priſoners. Cranmer and Ridley being firſt brought in, were told, that the convocation had ſigned their belief of the following articles, which the queen expected they would either ſubſcribe, or confute.

"The natural body of Chriſt is really in the ſacrament after the words ſpoken by the prieſt.

"In the ſacrament, after the words of conſecration no other ſubſtance does remain, than the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt.

"In the maſs is a ſacrifice propitiatory for the ſins of the quick and dead."

Cranmer and Ridley having refuſed to ſign theſe articles, copies were delivered to them, and the prolocutor fixed two ſeparate days, when he told them, it would be expected, that they ſhould publicly argue againſt them.

Biſhop Latimer was next introduced, like a primitive martyr, in his priſon attire. He had a cap upon his head, buttoned under his chin, a pair of ſpectacles hanging at his breaſt, a New Teſtament under his arm and a ſtaff in his hand. He was almoſt exhauſted with preſſing through the crowd; and the prolocutor ordering a chair to be brought for him, he walked up to it, and, ſaying he was a very old man, ſat down without any ceremony. The articles were then read to him; which he denied alſo. The prolocutor, upon this, telling him, that he muſt diſpute on the Wedneſday following, the old biſhop, with as much chearfulneſs as he would have ſhewn upon the moſt ordinary occaſion, ſhaking his palſied head, anſwered, ſmiling "Indeed, gentlemen, I am juſt as well qualified to be made governor of Calais." He then complained, that he was very old and very infirm; and ſaid, That he had the uſe of no book but that under his arm; which he had read ſeven times over deliberately, without finding the leaſt mention made of the maſs. In this ſpeech he gave great offence, by ſaying, in his humourous way,

alluding to tranſubſtantiation, that he could find neither the marrow-bones, nor the ſinews, of the maſs in in the New Teſtament. Upon which, the prolocutor cried out, with ſome warmth, that he would make him find both: "That you will never do, maſter doctor," replied Latimer; after which he was ſilenced.

Our venerable old man adhered to the reſolution that he had mentioned in his conference with Ridley, and, when the time of his diſputation came, knowing, ſays Mr Addiſon (Spectator No. 463), "How his abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impoſſible for him to recollect all thoſe reaſons which had directed him in the choice of his religion, he left his companions, who were in the full poſſeſſion of their vigour and learning, to baffle and confound their antagoniſts by the force of reaſon," while he only repeated to his adverſaries, the articles in which he firmly believed, and in the profeſſion of which he was determined to die.

The particulars of this mock diſputation, being tedious, unintereſting, and truly ridiculous, are omitted in favour of the important tranſactions of the reign of queen Mary, included in this volume. Suffice it, therefore, to obſerve, that all the arguments uſed by Cranmer and Ridley, were treated with indecent contempt, and inſtead of being fairly canvaſſed, were over-ruled by the inſolence of authority, and the wild uproar of countenanced clamour and tumult.

In a few days after theſe ſhameful proceedings, the commiſſioners, ſeated in their accuſtomed form, ſent for the biſhops to St Mary's church: where, after ſome affected exhortations to recant, the prolocutor firſt excommunicated, and then condemned them. As ſoon as the ſentence was read, biſhop Latimer, lifting up his eyes, cried out, "I thank God, moſt heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end!" To which the prolocutor replied, "If you go to heaven in this faith, I am thoroughly perſuaded I ſhall never get there."

The

The three biſhops were continued cloſe priſoners at Oxford, upwards of ſixteen months, till the pope's authority, and the legantine power were completely reſtored in England, by act of parliament; for it ſhould ſeem, till this was effected, and the old ſanguinary laws againſt heretics revived, they could not be put to death, with the leaſt ſhadow of juſtice, the ſtatutes, on which the ſentence againſt them was founded, not being in force at the time when it was paſſed on them. Therefore, a new commiſſion was granted by cardinal Pole, the pope's legate, to White, biſhop of Lincoln, Brookes, biſhop of Glouceſter, and Holman, biſhop of Briſtol, empowering them to cite Ridley and Latimer before them, in order to receive them into the boſom of the church, if they would renounce their errors; or to condemn them as heretics, and deliver them over to the ſecular power, if they remained obſtinate.

On the 30th of September, 1555, the commiſſioners having ſeated themſelves, in great ſtate, in the divinity ſchool, ſent for Ridley, who refuſing to ſubſcribe to much the ſame articles as had before been tendered to him; they then ſent for Latimer, and great pains were taken by the biſhop of Lincoln, to make him renounce his opinion, in an eloquent and pathetic ſpeech, in which he exhorted him to accept the mercy offered to him, and to acknowledge the authority of the pope.

Mr Latimer thanked the biſhop for his gentle treatment of him; but, at the ſame time, aſſured him, that it was in vain to expect from him any acknowledgment of the pope. He did not believe, he ſaid, that any juriſdiction had been given to the ſee of Rome, nor had the biſhops of Rome behaved as if their power had been from God. He then quoted a popiſh book, which had lately been written, to ſhew how groſsly the Papiſts would miſrepreſent ſcripture: and concluded with ſaying, that he thought the clergy had nothing to do with the temporal power, nor ought ever to

to be intruſted with it; and that their commiſſion from their maſter, in his opinion, extended no farther than to the diſcharge of their paſtoral functions. To this the biſhop of Lincoln replied, "That he thought his ſtyle not quite ſo decent as it might be: and that as to the book which he quoted, he knew nothing of it." At this Latimer expreſſed his ſurpriſe, and told him, that although he did not know the author of it, yet it was written by a perſon of note, the biſhop of Glouceſter.

This produced ſome mirth among the audience, as the biſhop of Glouceſter ſat then upon the bench. That prelate, finding himſelf thus publicly challenged, roſe up, and, addreſſing himſelf to Mr Latimer, paid him ſome compliments upon his learning, and then ſpoke in vindication of his book. But his zeal carrying him too far, the biſhop of Lincoln, interrupting him, ſaid, "We came not here, my lord, to diſpute with Mr Latimer, but to take his anſwer to certain articles, which ſhall be propoſed to him."

The articles were then read, and Mr Latimer anſwered every one of them; at the ſame time proteſting, which proteſtation he begged might be regiſtered, that, notwithſtanding his anſwers to the pope's commiſſioners, he by no means acknowledged the authority of the pope. The notaries having taken down his anſwers and proteſtation, the biſhop of Lincoln told him, "That as far as he could, he would ſhew lenity to him: that the anſwers which he had now given in, ſhould not be prejudicial to him: but that he ſhould be called upon the next morning, when he might make what alterations he pleaſed; and that he hoped in God, he ſhould then find him in a better temper." To this the good old man anſwered, "That he begged they would do with him then juſt what they pleaſed, and that he might not trouble them, nor they him, another day; that as to his opinions, he was fixed in them, and that any reſpite would be needleſs." The biſhop, however, told him, that

that he muſt appear the next morning, and then diſſolved the aſſembly.

Accordingly, the commiſſioners ſitting in the ſame form, he was brought in: and when the tumult was compoſed, the biſhop of Lincoln told him, that although he might juſtly have proceeded to judgment againſt him, the day before, yet he could not help poſtponing it one day longer, "In hopes, ſaid he, Sir, that you might reaſon yourſelf into a better way of thinking, and at length embrace, what we all ſo much deſire, that mercy, which our holy church now, for the laſt time, offereth to you." "Alas! my lord, anſwered Mr Latimer, your indulgence is to no purpoſe. When a man is convinced of a truth, even to deliberate is unlawful. I am fully reſolved againſt the church of Rome; and, once for all, my anſwer is, I never will embrace its communion. If you urge me farther, I will reply as St Cyprian did, on a like occaſion. He ſtood before his judges, upon a charge of hereſy; and being aſked, which were more probably of the church of Chriſt, he and his party, who were every where deſpiſed, or they, his judges, who were every where in eſteem; he anſwered reſolutely, "That Chriſt had decided that point, when he mentioned it, as a mark of his diſciples, that they ſhould take up their croſs and follow him. If this then, my lords, be one of the characteriſtics of the Chriſtian church, whether ſhall we denominate by that name, the church of Rome, which hath always been a perſecutor, or that ſmall body of Chriſtans, which is perſecuted by it?" "You mention, Sir, ſaid Lincoln, with a bad grace, your cauſe and St Cyprian's together: they are wholly different." "No, my lord, replied Latimer, his was the word of God, and ſo is mine."

The biſhop of Lincoln finding his repeated exhortations had no effect, at length paſſed ſentence upon him. Mr Latimer then aſked him, whether their was any appeal from this judgment? "To whom, ſaid the biſhop

ſhop of Lincoln, would you appeal?" "To the next general council, anſwered Mr Latimer, that ſhall be regularly aſſembled." "It will be a long time, replied the biſhop, before Europe will ſee ſuch a council as you mean." Having ſaid this, he committed Mr Latimer to the cuſtody of the mayor, and diſſolved the aſſembly. On the ſame day, likewiſe, ſentence was paſſed on Ridley, and the 16th of October, about a fortnight from this time, was fixed for their execution.

On the north ſide of the town, near Baliol-college, a ſpot of ground was choſen for the place of execution. Hither, on the ſixteenth, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and other perſons of diſtinction, appointed for that purpoſe, repaired early in the morning; and a guard being drawn round the place, the priſoners were ſent for. Biſhop Ridley firſt entered this dreadful circle, accompanied by the mayor, ſoon after, biſhop Latimer was brought in. The former was dreſſed in his epiſcopal habit; the latter, as uſual, in his priſon-attire. This difference in their dreſs made a moving contraſt, and augmented the concern of the ſpectators: the biſhop of London ſhewing what they had before been; Latimer, what they were now reduced to.

While they ſtood before the ſtake, about to prepare themſelves for the fire, they were informed, they muſt firſt hear a ſermon; and ſoon after, Dr Smith aſcended a pulpit, prepared for that purpoſe, and preached on theſe words of St Paul, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing?" In his diſcourſe, he treated the two biſhops with great inhumanity, aſperſing both their characters and tenets.

The ſermon being ended, the biſhop of London was beginning to ſay ſomething in defence of himſelf, when the vice-chancellor, ſtarting up ſuddenly from his ſeat, ran towards him, and ſtopping his mouth with his hand, told him, "That if he was going to recant, he

ſhould

ſhould have leave: but he ſhould be permitted in nothing farther." The biſhop, thus checked, looking round, with a noble air, cried out, "We commit our cauſe then to Almighty God." And immediately an officer ſtepped up, and acquainted them, "That, at their leiſure, they might now make ready for the ſtake."

The ſpectators burſt into tears, when they ſaw theſe two venerable men now preparing for death. Reflecting, ſays Fox, on their preferments, the places of honour they held in the commonwealth, the favour they ſtood in with their princes, their great learning, and greater piety, they were overwhelmed with ſorrow to ſee ſo much dignity, ſo much honour, ſo much eſtimation, ſo many godly virtues, the ſtudy of ſo many years, and ſo much excellent learning, about to be conſumed in one moment. Mr Latimer, having thrown off the old gown, which was wrapped about him, appeared in a ſhroud, prepared for the purpoſe; and "whereas before, he ſeemed a withered and crooked old man, he now ſtood bolt upright, as comely a father, as one might lightly behold."

When he, and his fellow-ſufferer were ready, they were both faſtened to a ſtake with an iron chain. They then brought a kindled faggot and laid it at Ridley's feet, to whom Latimer ſaid, "Be of good comfort maſter Ridley, and play the man; we ſhall this day light ſuch a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I truſt ſhall never be put out." He then recommended his ſoul to God, and the flames ſpeedily reaching him, he ſoon expired, ſeemingly without much pain. But it was not ſo with poor Ridley; for by ſome miſmanagement of the fire on his ſide of the ſtake, the wind blew the flames from the upper part of his body, and the legs were conſumed before the fire approached the vital parts, which made him endure dreadful torments for ſome time, till the flames caught ſome gunpowder, which had been tied about their waiſts, and had haſtened the death

death of Latimer. After this he was not obſerved to move, and the chain looſening, his body fell at the feet of him, whoſe animating precepts, and noble fortitude, had ſo eminently contributed to enable him to paſs through this fiery trial, to eternal bliſs.

The characters of theſe holy martyrs, differed only in point of learning, in which Ridley was ſuperior; for in piety, charity, humility, and examplary manners, it is hard to ſay which excelled: and the theological tracts they left behind, though written in a very different ſtyle, were calculated to anſwer the ſole purpoſe of promoting true religion, and practical morality.

*** *Authorities.* Gilpin's Life of Biſhop Latimer, edit. 1755. Burnet, and Fox. Life of Biſhop Ridley, by Gl. Ridley, LL.B. 1763.

THE LIFE OF

STEPHEN GARDINER,

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

(Including Memoirs of JOHN HOOPER, Biſhop of GLOUCESTER.)

[A. D. 1483, to 1555.]

STEPHEN GARDINER, the chief contriver and inſtrument of the horrrid perſecution in the reign of queen Mary, of which we have already exhibited a melancholy ſpecimen, is ſuppoſed to have been the natural ſon of Lionel Widville, biſhop of Saliſbury, and brother to Elizabeth, queen conſort of Edward IV. But that prelate, to conceal his incontinence from the world, married his concubine to one of his menial ſervants, whoſe name was Gardiner, and who thereby

thereby became the reputed father of the infant, of whom ſhe was then pregnant. Young Gardiner was born about 1483, at Bury St Edmund, in Suffolk, and the next certain account we have of him is, that he ſtudied at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his ſkill in the Greek, his elegance in ſpeaking and writing Latin, and a prompt capacity for learning in general. Afterwards, confining himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of the civil and canon law, about the year 1521, he was honoured with the degree of doctor in thoſe ſciences, and his great reputation at Cambridge, recommended him to the notice of the great men at court, particularly the duke of Norfolk and cardinal Wolſey, the latter of whom took him into his family, and made him his ſecretary.

In 1525, Henry paying a viſit to the cardinal, found his ſecretary employed in drawing the plan of a treaty of alliance with Francis I. which had been projected by the cardinal. The king peruſed it, and was ſo ſtruck with this outline of Gardiner's political talents, that from this time he enjoyed the confidence both of the king and his miniſter; and as a proof of it, he was ſent to Rome in 1528, to negociate the famous divorce. Edward Fox, provoſt of King's College, Cambridge, was joined in the commiſſion, but only as ſecond to Gardiner, who was eſteemed the beſt civilian in England, which alone was a ſufficient cauſe for ſending him on this embaſſy. In his credential letters to the pope, the cardinal ſtyles him, "Primary ſecretary of the moſt ſecret councils."

When the ambaſſadors arrived at Ovieto, where the pope then reſided, Dr Gardiner uſed very free language with his holineſs, ſhewed him the danger he was in of loſing the king by playing a double game, and how much injury he would do to cardinal Wolſey, if he diſappointed his expectations. By this method he ſucceeded in obtaining what his inſtructions

required, a new commiſſion for trying the cauſe in England, directed to Wolſey and Campejus.

Fox was ſent home with a full account of this negociation, which highly pleaſed the king and Anne Boleyn; but the pope being taken ill, Wolſey ſent diſpatches to Gardiner, deſiring him to wait the event, and to exert himſelf in ſupporting his intereſt with the cardinals, that in caſe of the pope's death he might be elected his ſucceſſor.

In the courſe of this long embaſſy, the pope, whoſe mind was continually preplexed, and to whom the Imperial, French, and Engliſh miniſters allowed no quiet, fell dangerouſly ill again; the diſtractions of his mind operating upon the humours of his body, and this, as might be expected, gave a new turn to the intrigues of Rome.

Dr Gardiner had as large a ſhare in theſe as any miniſter; for he laboured the cauſe of the cardinal of York, in caſe of the pope's death ſhould make way for a new election. He alſo managed the whole affair with his holineſs much to the ſatisfaction of the king, the cardinal, and Anne Boleyn; all of whom wrote him moſt thankful and affectionate letters; till, finding the pope was determined to do nothing, Henry called Gardiner from Rome, in order to make uſe of him in the management of his cauſe before the legantine court.

Upon his return, he had the archdeaconry of Norfolk beſtowed upon him by biſhop Nyx, of Norwich, for whom he had obtained ſome favours from the pope. He was inſtalled on the firſt of March, 1529; and this as far as appears, was his firſt preferment in the church: but in the ſtate he made a more rapid progreſs; for the king, having conſtant occaſion for his ſervices, took him from Wolſey, and made him ſecretary of ſtate. And when cardinal Campejus avoked the cauſe of the divorce to Rome, the following year, Gardiner, in conjunction with Fox, found out Cranmer, and having

ving engaged him to write in favour of the divorce, they undertook to manage the univerſity of Cambridge, ſo as to procure their declaration in the king's cauſe, after Dr Cranmer's book ſhould appear in ſupport of it; which taſk by great addreſs, and much artifice, they fully accompliſhed.

For this ſervice, Henry amply rewarded him with eccleſiaſtical preferments: in the ſpring of the year 1531, he was inſtalled archdeacon of Leiceſter, upon which he reſigned the archdeaconry of Norfolk, and, in September, he alſo reſigned that, in favour of his co-adjutor Dr Edward Fox, who became afterwards biſhop of Hereford. In November, he was conſecrated biſhop of Wincheſter.

Dr Gardiner, it ſeems, was not apprized of the king's intentions, who would ſometimes *rate* him ſoundly, and, at the inſtant he beſtowed it, put him in mind of it. "I have," ſaid he "often ſquared with you, Gardiner, (a word he, uſed for theſe kind of rebukes,) but I love you never the worſe, as the biſhopric I give you will convince you."

Henry had another practice, which he called *whetting* this was ſcolding with pen, ink, and paper, and when ſome of Gardiner's friends ſaw letters to him in this ſtyle, they concluded he was a ruined man, but he, who knew the king's temper, was in no pain upon that account.

Our prelate ſat with Dr Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, when that prelate pronounced the ſentence of divorce againſt queen Catharine; or, rather, declared her marriage with the king null and void, on the 20th of May, 1533. The ſame year, he was ſent to Marſeilles, that he might have an eye to the interview between the French king and the pope. Bonner, afterwards biſhop of London, was ſent after him, with Henry and Cranmer's appeal from the, pope to the next general council, lawfully called; and he complained bitterly, in a letter to Cromwell, of Gardiner's

haughty, ſtubborn, wilful temper, which, as his power increaſed, broke forth into acts of brutal cruelty.

Upon his return to England, he was called upon, as other biſhops were, not only to acknowledge and and yield obedience to the king as ſupreme head of the church, but to defend it; which he did: and this defence he publiſhed, under the title, "Of True Obedience." His pen was made uſe of upon other occaſions, and he never declined vindicating the king's proceedings in the buſineſs of the divorce, the ſubſequent marriage, or throwing off the dominion of the ſee of Rome; which writings then acquired him the higheſt reputation. But he was an arch diſſembler; for all this time he was ſtrongly attached to the ſee of Rome, and to every ſuperſtition of the Romiſh church. This was diſcoverable, through every veil of diſguiſe, for in 1536, he oppoſed Cranmer's petition to the king for a new tranſlation of the Bible, and Cromwell's deſign of forming a religious league with the princes of Germany, as a means of promoting the Reformation. About this time, he went on a ſecond embaſſy to France, and procured the baniſhment of Reginald Pole from that kingdom, who had before been exiled from England.

In 1538, he was ſent ambaſſador, with Sir Henry Knevit, to the German Diet, where he is allowed to have acquitted himſelf well in regard to his commiſſion; but he was juſtly ſuſpected of holding a ſecret correſpondence with the pope, in order to introduce the papal authority again into England. And this ſuſpicion was farther confirmed when, upon his return from Germany, he adviſed the king to exert himſelf zealouſly in the proſecution of the *ſacramentarians*, or heretics denying the real preſence: in conſequence of which fatal advice, one John Lambert, a ſchoolmaſter, who had committed to writing his arguments againſt tranſubſtantiation, was accuſed of hereſy before Cranmer and Latimer, who endeavoured to ſcreen him from proſecution; but Lambert, by a fatal reſolution,

tion, appealed to the king, and Gardiner improved this opportunity ſo well, that he prevailed upon the king to try him in perſon, which was accordingly done, in great ſtate, in Weſtminſter-hall, before the lords of the council, the prelates, and ſeveral of the nobility. The king firſt attempted to prove the doctrine of the real preſence from ſcripture, and after him, archbiſhop Cranmer; but Gardiner thinking he argued but faintly, interpoſed in the argument, and was followed by eight other biſhops; ſo that the poor man was at laſt over-awed and ſilenced, condemned, and ſoon after burnt in Smithfield, with circumſtances of uncommon barbarity.

In 1539, Gardiner gave a freſh inſtance of his perſecuting ſpirit, for he was the principal promoter of the act of the ſix articles, commonly called the Bloody Statute, when it was before the houſe of lords, and there can be but little doubt, from his conduct afterwards, of the truth of the accuſation brought againſt him, by writers of the firſt authority, that he framed the ſix articles of this ſtatute. The death of Dr Robert Barnes, who was burnt very ſoon after, upon this ſtatute, is alſo with reaſon attributed to him: for he was firſt impriſoned on account of a ſermon, in which he had arraigned the conduct of the biſhop.

Upon the diſgrace of Cromwell earl of Eſſex, Gardiner was elected chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, and after the death of that miniſter, his influence increaſing at court, he conſtantly exerted himſelf in oppreſſing the Proteſtant and promoting the Popiſh religion.

His next ſtep was to decry the new Engliſh tranſlation of the bible, which had been publiſhed in 1536, by the authority of Cromwell, and was brought before the convocation to be examined, ſoon after his death. Gardiner condemned it as defective, and meanly quibbled upon many Latin words in the New Teſtament, which he idly pretended could not be tranſ-

lated with proper dignity, and therefore muſt be continued in Latin. Two of the words, indiſcriminately taken, will convince the reader of the poverty of this artifice. *Penitentia*, *Adorare*. But delay of its approbation was obtained, and archbiſhop Cranmer was obliged to move the king to have the peruſal of it referred to the two univerſities.

In 1543, we find Gardiner one of the commiſſioners appointed to conclude a treaty of peace with Scotland, and alſo a treaty of marriage between the young queen of Scotland, and Edward prince of Wales. But theſe affairs of ſtate did not take off his attention from his two favourite points; perſecution of thoſe he called heretics, and preventing the progreſs of what was ſtyled the new-learning; which conſiſted chiefly in acquiring ſuch ſkill in the Greek language, as enabled men to read the primitive fathers, and thereby to diſcover the modern innovations of the Romiſh church. Accordingly, this year he informed againſt ſome heretics at Windſor, and moved the king in council, for a commiſſion to ſearch ſuſpected houſes for heretical books, in conſequence of which four perſons were apprehended, three of whom were condemned and burnt.

His infamous attempt to ruin archbiſhop Cranmer, which will be found in that prelate's life, happened about this time, and the king from this time began to conceive a bad opinion of him, and a circumſtance ſoon occurred, which put it beyond a doubt that he ſecretly diſliked the king's proceedings, and in his heart wiſhed for the reſtoration of the pope's authority. In 1544, German Gardiner, the biſhop's relation, chief confident, and private ſecretary, was apprehended, upon information, tried, condemned, and executed for denying the king's ſupremacy. The king rationally concluded, that his maſter muſt ſecretly harbour the ſame ſentiments, and upon this ſuſpicion he had determined to ſend him to the Tower; but the biſhop appriſed of his

his deſign, and knowing the king loved ſincerity, went to him, fell on his knees, acknowledged his guilt, craved his pardon, and promiſed for the future to be a new man.

He was, indeed, forgiven; and in 1545, he was ſent to Flanders on an embaſſy to the emperor, to ſolicit a league between Charles, Francis I. and Henry; which opportunity Cranmer wanted to improve, by perſuading the king to aboliſh ſome of the moſt ridiculous ceremonies of the church; but Gardiner receiving intelligence of his deſigns, wrote to the king, that he ſhould not ſucceed with the emperor, if any innovations were ſuffered in religion, in England. Upon his return in 1546, the perſecution which had abated during his abſence, was renewed with additional cruelty, by him and the lord chancellor Wriotheſley, who, when the lieutenant of the Tower refuſed to torture a lady (Mrs Ayſcough) any longer, had the brutal inhumanity, to throw off his gown, and draw the rack himſelf, till he left her almoſt lifeleſs: but unable to extort from her any accuſations of the ducheſs of Suffolk and other ladies of the court, ſhe was burnt ſoon after for her own heretical opinions.

But Gardiner carried his ſanguinary views ſtill higher, aiming at a royal victim, the queen Catherine Parr. This lady favoured Cranmer, and the friends of the Reformation, which rendered her extremely obnoxious to the Popiſh party. And in the laſt year of Henry's life, they were very near accompliſhing her deſtruction; for the queen had put the king out of humour, by adviſing too freely to complete the reformation: and when ſhe had retired, after an argument upon this ſubject, Henry, in the preſence of Gardiner, exclaimed with great warmth: "A good hearing it is when women become ſuch clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age, to be taught by my wife." The biſhop with equal ſubtilty and malice aggravated the queen's offence, and inſinuated, that

that he and his friends could make great diſcoveries againſt the queen, if they were not afraid of her faction. By ſuch arts he prevailed upon the king to ſign an order for arreſting the queen, but the chancellor, who was entruſted with this paper, dropped it out of his boſom, and it was immediately carried to the queen who ſo wrought upon the king's affections, as to diſpel his ſuſpicions; and this brought ſevere reproaches upon the chancellor, and the king's reſentment againſt the biſhop grew ſo ſtrong, that he could never after endure him.

Yet the biſhop ſtill continued about the court, and though upon Henry's death he had the mortification to find he was excluded the regency, he ceaſed not to importune the protector by letters, diſſuading him from making any alterations in religion during the minority. But Somerſet and Cranmer had now begun to take meaſures for compleating the Reformation; and amongſt others, a royal viſitation was ſet on foot; and the homilies were appointed to be read in all churches. At the ſame time, the paraphraſe of the New Teſtament by Eraſmus was tranſlated into Engliſh, and a copy ordered to be kept in every pariſh. Gardiner's oppoſition to theſe proceedings was ſo great, that he was cited to appear before the council in September 1547, where he was accuſed of having written letters to that board, and of having uttered in converſation, many things in contempt of the king's viſitation; in confirmation of which, he then refuſed to receive the homilies, or to pay any obedience to the king's viſitors in his dioceſe: whereupon he was committed a cloſe priſoner to the Fleet, where he was treated with improper ſeverity, and indeed his impriſonment was illegal, as he had not been judicially convicted of any crime. However, he was releaſed in December, at the end of the ſeſſions of parliament, and immediately repaired to his dioceſe.

Here

Here he oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power, the preachers who were ſent down by the council, to inculcate the principles of the Reformation; in ſome places, ordering the rector to deny them the uſe of their pulpits, in others, he aſcended before them, and warned the congregations to beware of ſuch teachers. Complaints being ſent to court of this conduct, he was once more brought before the council, and after being reprimanded, he was ordered to keep to his own houſe till he had given ſatisfaction, which was to be done by preaching a ſermon before the king and court, and with reſpect to the matter of his diſcourſe, he was to be directed by Sir William Cecil. But in the ſermon, he was ſo far from giving ſatisfaction, that while he acknowledged the king's ſupremacy, he denied that of the regency, and ſpoke contemptuouſly of the council; he was therefore ſent to the Tower the next day, being the 30th of June, 1548, where he continued a priſoner during the remainder of the reign of Edward VI.

When the protector's diſgrace was projected, his enemies thought, that they could not employ a more ſkilful perſon than Gardiner to draw up the articles of impeachment againſt him, and having performed this ſervice, he expected his releaſe from the new council, but was miſerably diſappointed in his expectations.

What paſſed during his confinement, is of little conſequence to the reader; and the conferences he had with the lords of the council, and their treatment of him, are variouſly repreſented by the Popiſh and Proteſtant writers. It may, therefore, be ſufficient to obſerve, that he once ſigned his approbation of all the meaſures that had been taken towards a Reformation; notwithſtanding which, the Popiſh writers boaſt his ſteady and invariable attachment to the Romiſh religion: but this was not the firſt inſtance of his duplicity.

In

In 1551, after twenty-two ſittings of a court of delegates, he was deprived of his biſhopric, for diſobedience and contempt of the king's authority.

From this time, he remained quiet, and employed himſelf in compoſing Latin poems, tranſlations into Engliſh verſe of the poetical part of the Old Teſtament, and ſome polemical tracts. He likewiſe kept up his ſpirits, conſoling himſelf with an idea, which he often expreſſed, that he ſhould live to ſee another change of fortune, and another court, in which he ſhould be as great as ever.

This prepoſſeſſion of Gardiner's, which is not in the leaſt wonderful, if the political ſituation of affairs, during Edward's illneſs, is duly attended to, was but too well founded; for queen Mary, on the third of Auguſt, 1553, made her ſolemn entry into the Tower, when Gardiner, in the name of himſelf and his fellow-priſoners, the duke of Norfolk, the ducheſs of Somerſet, the lord Courtney, and others of high rank, made a congratulatory ſpeech to her majeſty, who gave them all their liberties, and Lloyd ſays, ſhe kiſſed Gardiner, and called him her priſoner (a priſoner for her cauſe). On the eighth of the ſame month he performed, in the queen's preſence, the Romiſh obſequies for the late king Edward, whoſe body was buried in Weſtminſter, with the Engliſh ſervice, by archbiſhop Cranmer, the funeral ſermon being preached by biſhop Day. On the ninth biſhop Gardiner went to Wincheſter-houſe, in Southwark, after a confinement of ſomewhat more than five years. On the twenty-third, he was declared chancellor of England, though his patent did not paſs till the twenty-firſt of September. On the firſt of October he had the honour of crowning the queen, and on the fifth of the ſame month he opened the firſt parliament, in her reign. He was alſo re-choſen chancellor of Cambridge, and reſtored to the maſterſhip of Trinity-hall.

We

We ſhall now be able to diſcover the true character of Gardiner, by obſerving his conduct in the different capacities of a civilian, a prime miniſter, and an eccleſiaſtical inquiſitor.

It has been aſſerted, that he always acted upon principle, and if he erred, that he did it conſcientiouſly. But Burnet juſtly imputes the frequent changes in his political conduct, and his cruelty, to his abject and ſervile ſpirit. The reader will judge from the following facts. Promoting the divorce was the firſt ſervice he rendered the father; and now reverſing this divorce, and branding all who had been concerned in it, was the firſt ſervice he performed for the daughter. He had alſo aſſiſted, promoted, and defended the king's ſupremacy, as much more than any man in the kingdom; and had the reputation of penning the publications in defence of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn, which he now condemned as null and illegal. Theſe do not ſpeak in favour of his integrity as a civilian and canoniſt.

Mary, on her acceſſion, had publicly declared, that ſhe would force no man's conſcience on account of religion. The chancellor, even when no prieſt, was ſtyled the keeper of the king's conſcience; but Gardiner, though a prieſt, chancellor, and prime miniſter, adviſed Mary to violate her promiſe, as ſoon as he had the management of public affairs. For, before the end of the year, all the laws concerning religion, made in the reign of Edward VI. were repealed; and it was enacted, that there ſhould be no other form of divine ſervice, but that which was uſed in the laſt year of Henry VIII. The convocation was aſſembled, when thoſe clergy who were in the Proteſtant intereſt, were threatened, inſulted, and interrupted in their arguments by Dr Weſton, the prolocutor, who ſaid, "You have the word, but we have the ſword." By which means the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was reſtored. Soon after, ſeveral Proteſtant prelates were deprived, and the

the commiſſions for this purpoſe were directed to Gardiner, Bonner biſhop of London, and others. Theſe proceedings threatening a ſevere perſecution, above eight hundred Proteſtant ſubjects fled the kingdom, and they made a timely eſcape; for in the beginning of the year 1554, the Marſhalſea in London, and the priſons in other parts of the kingdom, were filled with pretended heretics. During theſe commencements of cruelty, ambaſſadors arrived from the emperor Charles V. likewiſe king of Spain, to adjuſt a treaty of marriage between the queen and the emperor's ſon Philip. This intended marriage was obnoxious to the whole nation, but moſt to the friends of the Reformation, who dreaded a Spaniſh government and a Spaniſh inquiſition; and it gave riſe to the rebellion, under Sir Thomas Wyat, in which the duke of Suffolk, though a priſoner in the Tower, was concerned; the inſurrection was ſoon quelled; but the unfortunate and amiable lady Jane Grey, the moſt learned and accompliſhed woman of the age, whom, it was thought, the queen would have pardoned, fell a victim to this laſt raſh attempt of her father. Lady Jane, her huſband, and father were beheaded in April, and the princeſs Elizabeth was confined in the Tower. It is aſſerted by ſome writers, that Gardiner adviſed the putting her to death, ſaying it was in vain to lop off the branches, if they did not deſtroy the root, the hope of the heritics: but the reſt of the council over-ruled this infamous motion.

A new parliament being called, and great uſe having been made of 500,000l. ſent over by the emperor, during the elections, the marriage-treaty was approved and ratified by both houſes, after which this parliament was diſſolved, and in July, the nuptials were ſolemnized at Wincheſter, by Gardiner: Philip being in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age, and Mary in her thirty-ninth. After the ceremony of marriage, they were proclaimed king and queen of England, France, Naples,

Naples and Jeruſalem, to which were added many other pompous titles. And in the way to London the royal pair ſtopped at Windſor, where Philip was inſtalled Knight of the Garter.

A new parliament was choſen, being the third, and met on the eleventh of November, the chief tranſactions of which relating to cardinal Pole, will occur in his life; but it muſt be obſerved, that a bill paſſed for reviving the old ſtatutes againſt heretics, made in the reigns of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. and now Gardiner being in poſſeſſion of a ſtatute for putting Proteſtants to death, which he was not till this act paſſed, he took to his aſſiſtance another evil ſpirit, worſe than himſelf, Bonner, biſhop of London, and under the hands of theſe bloody inquiſitors, the flames of perſecution blazed forth with redoubled fury, in all parts of the kingdom.

Gardiner began with John Rogers, prebendary of St Paul's, who was condemned by him, and the council, and burnt in Smithfield, in January 1555; and he refuſed to let his wife viſit him after his condemnation, becauſe he was a prieſt, whoſe marriages were now declared illegal. Several others of inferior note, ſuffered the ſame month, in London.

At the ſame time, Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, was re-examined.

This eminent prelate was a native of Somerſetſhire, born in 1495, and educated at Merton college, Oxford. Soon after the ſtatute of the ſix articles was enforced, he quitted the univerſity, and lived ſome time with Sir Thomas Arundel, as his chaplain and ſteward; but Sir Thomas diſcovering that he was a proteſtant, he fled to France; but diſliking the conduct of the reformed in that kingdom, he returned home. However, finding the perſecution upon the articles ſtill continued, he diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a ſailor, and got ſafe to Switzerland, where he was kindly received by Bullinger. On the acceſſion of Edward

VI. he came back to England, and was made chaplain to the protector, and in 1549, he was the chief accuſer of Bonner, who was then deprived, and never forgave him.

In 1550, Hooper was made biſhop of Worceſter, but refuſing to wear the uſual veſtments, Cranmer refuſed to conſecrate him, and he was ſent to the fleet for contumacy; but the following year the affair was compromiſed, and he was permitted to hold the biſhopric of Worceſter in commendam with Glouceſter.

When Mary was ſeated on the throne, he was ſent for, to anſwer to the complaints exhibited againſt him by Heath (the deprived biſhop of Worceſter) and Bonner, who pretended he had falſely accuſed him in the late reign. But when he arrived at London, theſe charges were dropped; he was proceeded againſt as a heretic; and was deprived and condemned by his avowed enemies, Gardiner and Bonner, two of the commiſſioners appointed to deprive the prelates.

From this time till the before-mentioned re-examination, he had been confined in the Fleet priſon, but now he was removed to Newgate on his refuſing to recant. Here he was viſited by Bonner and his chaplains, who offered him riches and honours, if he would become a convert to the Romiſh religion; but finding their endeavours fruitleſs, they ſpread a report, that he had recanted; and being informed of this treachery, it afflicted him ſo much, that he wrote a letter to his friends, to aſſure them and the public, that he was more than ever confirmed in the Proteſtant faith. This exaſperated the two biſhops, and Bonner was ſent to degrade him in Newgate, not as a biſhop, for they did not acknowledge him as ſuch, but as a prieſt: and on the firſt of February 1555, he was ſent to Glouceſter, guarded by a troop of horſe, and on the ninth, he was burnt in that city, in a moſt inhuman manner, the fire being made of green wood, ſo that he was conſumed by ſlow degrees, and ſuffered the moſt dreadful tor-

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ments with great patience and fortitude, above three quarters of an hour.

Gardiner had now brought three of the moſt eminent prelates of the reformed religion to the ſtake, but Cranmer ſtill remained, who was reſerved to anſwer his particular views. He expected that cardinal Pole would ſucceed to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, if Cranmer was taken off at this time, and the death of pope Marcellus II. being daily expected, he was determined to uſe his intereſt to obtain the papacy for Pole, in which caſe he ſhould have no rival for the ſee of Canterbury. But though the pope died while Gardiner was holding a kind of congreſs at Calais for a treaty of peace between France and Spain, in which commiſſion the earl of Arundel and lord Paget were joined, their united intereſt by letters could not prevail at Rome, where the conclave choſe Paul IV.

Gardiner before he went upon this embaſſy, had left the perſecution of the Proteſtants chiefly to Bonner, and upon his return to England, he did not appear to be ſanguine in this dreadful buſineſs as before. The new pope deteſting Pole, Gardiner held a ſecret correſpondence with his holineſs, and had now more extenſive views, for he was promiſed a cardinal's hat, and the legatine power, as ſoon as Pole could be decently recalled, after his great ſervices, ſo lately performed in reconciling England to the ſee of Rome.

But death put a ſtop to his ambitious projects, on the 13th of November of this ſame year, in courſe of which Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and Farrar biſhop of St David's, beſides a great number of private perſons, had been ſacrificed to his unrelenting cruelty. It is ſaid, he died in great agonies, of a ſuppreſſion of urine, but various reports were propagated, reſpecting both the cauſe and manner of his death. However, it is certain, that he was ill from the twenty-third of October, the laſt day of his appearance in parliament; and during his illneſs it is generally agreed,

that he felt ſome remorſe of conſcience for his paſt life, frequently exclaiming, *Erravi cum Petro, ſed non flevi cum Petro.* "I have ſinned with Peter, but I have not weep with him."

He died at the palace at Whitehall, from whence his remains were removed to Wincheſter houſe in Southwark, and interred with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity.

This prelate's character may be ſummed up in a few words. He was a profeſſed courtier, who could make his conſcience yield to the complexion of the times; he was a learned man, it is acknowledged, but inſtead of being a friend to learned men, as many writers have aſſerted, he put them to death, if they differed from him in opinion. He was a crafty negociator, but by no means an able ſtateſman, for his adminiſtration was inglorious both at home and abroad; and as for his ſpirit of perſecution, it was the effect of a baſe, narrow mind, and a cruel nature, not of any fixed principles of religion, for he never had any. His perſon appears to have been very far from agreeable; and in a deſcription of him, written by Dr Poynet, who ſucceeded him in the ſee of Wincheſter, is the following paſſage: "This doctor hath a ſwart colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, a noſe hooked like a buzzard, noſtrils like a horſe, ever ſnuffing in the wind, and a ſparrow mouth." But as Poynet had a great diſlike to his predeceſſor, this portrait may juſtly be ſuppoſed to be caricatured by perſonal ill-will.

*** *Authorities.* Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. Burnet. Biog. Britannica, and Britiſh Biography, Vol. II.

THE

THE LIFE OF

THOMAS CRANMER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

[A. D. 1498, to 1556.]

THIS eminent prelate was the ſon of Thomas Cranmer, Eſq. and was born at Aſlacton, in Nottinghamſhire, in 1489. He was admitted of Jeſus College, Cambridge, in 1503, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his unwearied application to his ſtudies. He had been ſome time fellow of this college, when he married, but his wife dying within the year, he was again admitted into his fellowſhip.

In the year 1523, he commenced doctor of divinity, and became reader of the divinity lecture in his own college.

He had alſo now acquired ſo much reputation in the univerſity, that he was appointed one of the examiners of thoſe who commenced batchelors and doctors in divinity, and according to whoſe approbations the univerſity allowed them to procceed. In this office Dr Cranmer did much ſervice to the cauſe of religion: for it was his cuſtom to examine candidates out of the ſcriptures; and he would by no means let them paſs, if he found them unacquainted with the ſacred writings. This was a ſort of learning, of which the friars in general were extremely ignorant. They were much better read in Scotus and Aquinas, than in the Bible. The friars, therefore, Dr Cranmer ſometimes turned back as inſufficient, adviſing them to ſtudy the ſcriptures ſome years longer, before they came for their degrees, it being, he ſaid, a ſhame for a profeſſor in divinity to be unſkilled in the book, wherein the knowledge of God, and the true principles of Divinity, were chiefly to be found. In conſequence of this be-

haviour, he was very heartily hated by the Friars. However, ſome of the more ingenious of them afterwards returned him great and public thanks for refuſing them their degrees; acknowledging, that having been thereby put upon the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, they had attained to a more ſound knowledge in religion, than they otherwiſe ſhould have done.

During Dr Cranmer's reſidence at Cambridge, the queſtion aroſe concerning king Henry's divorce; and the plague breaking out in the univerſity about this time, he retired to a friends houſe at Waltham-abbey; where caſually meeting with Gardiner and Fox, the one the king's ſecretary, the other his almoner, and diſcourſing with them about the divorce, he freely delivered his opinion, "That it would be much better, to have the queſtion, whether a man could lawfully marry his brother's wife? diſcuſſed and decided by the divines, upon the authority of God's word, than thus from year to year, to prolong the time, by having recourſe to the pope. That there was but one truth in it, which the ſcripture would ſoon declare and manifeſt, being handled by learned men; and that might be done as well at the univerſities in England, as at Rome, or elſewhere." This declaration being communicated to the king, it ſo highly pleaſed him, that he directly ſaid, "the man had the ſow by the right ear," and gave orders, that Cranmer ſhould be ſent for to court.

Upon his arrival, which was in 1529, he was appointed chaplain to the king, and Sir Thomas Boleyn, father of Anne Boleyn, was deſired to receive him into his family, and to furniſh him with ſuch books as he ſhould require, to enable him to execute the king's command; which was, that he ſhould draw up a defence in writing of the opinion he had given reſpecting the divorce. In the treatiſe, he ſhewed by the teſtimonies of the ſcriptures, of general councils, and ancient writers, that the biſhop of Rome had no authority

rity to diſpenſe with God's word; and from that, he proved the illegality of the king's marriage with Catherine of Arragon, his late brother Arthur's widow. When he had finiſhed that tract, the king ſent him to Cambridge to diſpute publicly upon the ſubject, accompanied by Gardiner, Fox, and other learned men, and they ſoon brought over a number of divines and civilians to Cranmer's opinion; who, upon his return to court was rewarded with a benefice, and the archdeaconry of Taunton.

The following year Dr Cranmer was ſent by the king to France, Italy, and Germany, to diſpute upon the ſame ſubject; Sir Thomas Boleyn, now earl of Wiltſhire, being made chief ambaſſador upon this occaſion, and furniſhed with credentials to the reſpective courts for this purpoſe. In France they convinced many learned men. At Rome, Cranmer's treatiſe was delivered to the pope, and he offered to juſtify it, at a public diſputation; but, after ſundry promiſes and appointments, no adverſary appeared; and at length, after ſome private conferences with the chief men about the pope, it was openly granted, in the pope's chief court, of the Rota, that the marriage was unlawful: but they ſtill defended the pope's authority to diſpenſe with the ſcripture law.

The earl of Wiltſhire tranſmited ſuch encomiums of Cranmer, that the king ſent him a commiſſion to be his ſole ambaſſador, upon the ſame cauſe to the emperor. This gave him an opportunity of travelling through Germany, and as the emperor's court at that time was conſtantly in motion, by following it, he became acquainted with the moſt eminent German divines and civilians, many of whom embraced his opinion with reſpect to the marriage. Among others, the celebrated Oſiander, paſtor of Nuremberg, publicly defended it, and an intimacy followed, which produced a cloſe alliance, for Cranmer married Oſiander's niece.

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While Cranmer remained in Germany, the king employed him in other negociations, particularly in eſtabliſhing a treatiſe of commerce between England, and the emperor's dominions in the low countries. And he went on a ſpecial embaſſy to the duke of Saxony and other Proteſtant princes.

Upon the death of archbiſhop Warham, the king reſolved to place Cranmer at the head of the church; and though it is aſſigned as the ſole reaſon for this extraordinary promotion, that Henry judged him the fitteſt perſon among the whole body of the Engliſh clergy for this high ſtation, there can be no doubt that he had a ſuperior political reaſon, which was, to give ſanction to his opinion concerning the divorce, on which he could then paſs a deciſive ſentence, as head of the church, under the king; the pope's authority, in this caſe, being already ſubverted in his treatiſe. With this view Dr Cranmer was ordered home, and upon his arrival he intreated the king to ſuffer him to decline the high honour he offered to confer upon him; but Henry inſiſting upon his acceptance of the archbiſhopric, Cranmer now ſtarted a new opinion, which at firſt ſurpriſed the king, but in the end ſerved to ſtrengthen his attachment to him. He aſſerted that the king was the ſupreme governor of the church of England, as well in eccleſiaſtical as temporal concerns, and that the full right of donation of all benefices and biſhoprics appertained to him, and not to any foreign authority. And, therefore, if he might receive the archbiſhopric from the king, he would accept it, but not (as was then the cuſtom) from the pope, whoſe authority within the king's realm he denied. Thus was the foundation laid of the ſupremacy of the kings of England by this able divine.

In conformity to this declaration, he was conſecrated in March 1533, when he made a notorial proteſt, that he did not admit the pope's authority, any farther than it agreed with the expreſs word of God, and that

that it might be lawful for him at all times to ſpeak againſt him, and to impugn his errors when there ſhould be occaſion. The pope, however, agreeably to uſual cuſtom, ſent over the bulls, then judged neceſſary to complete the inveſtiture, but Cranmer ſurrenderd them to the king, from whom alone he conſented to hold this dignity.

The firſt ſervice which the new archbiſhop performed for the king, was pronouncing the ſentence of his divorce from queen Catherine. This was done on the twenty-third of May. Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and the biſhops of London, Bath, and Lincoln, being joined in commiſſion with him.

On the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, he held a court at Lambeth, in which he confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn. And at the cloſe of this year, when the pope's ſupremacy came under debate, the archbiſhop anſwered all the arguments brought in defence of it, with ſuch ſtrength and perſpicuity, that it was aboliſhed by the authority of parliament, and an act paſſed eſtabliſhing the king's ſupremacy over the church.

The pious archbiſhop having ſucceeded ſo far, vigorouſly exerted himſelf to promote the Reformation, for which purpoſe, he prevailed upon the convocation to petition the king for a tranſlation of the Bible. The iſſue of this application has been mentioned in the life of Gardiner, in giving an account of his oppoſition to the work when publiſhed.

The next ſalutary meaſure to which he gave his approbation, was the diſſolution of the monaſteries. He ſaw how inconſiſtent thoſe foundations were with the reformation of religion, which he then had in view; and propoſed, that out of the revenue of the monaſteries, the king ſhould found more biſhoprics; that the dioceſes being reduced into leſs compaſs, the biſhops might be the better enabled to diſcharge their duty.

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He farther adviſed, that the king ſhould only have the revenues of ſuch monaſteries, as were royal foundations, endowed by his predeceſſors; and that the eſtates of the reſt ſhould be employed in founding, hoſpitals, grammar ſchools, and other uſeful inſtitutions. But the courtiers, who hoped to ſhare the ſpoils, voted in parliament, that all the revenues of the monaſteries ſhould be appropriated to the king's uſe, and this reſolution, having paſſed into a law, the archbiſhop, and ſome other prelates, incurred the king's diſpleaſure for their good intentions. However, the king afterwards complied with part of the archbiſhop's plan, by founding ſix new biſhoprics.

In 1537, the archbiſhop, with the joint authority of the biſhops, publiſhed a book, intituled, The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man. This book being compoſed by the biſhops, was moſt commonly called The Bishops Book. It contains an explication of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Sacraments.

In the year 1539, the intereſt of Gardiner and the Popiſh faction increaſed, and then the king's zeal againſt heretics appeared by his preſſing the bill containing the ſix bloody articles. The archbiſhop argued boldly in the houſe againſt it three days ſo ſtrenouſly, that, though the king was obſtinate in paſſing the act, yet he deſired a copy of his reaſons againſt it; and ſhewed no reſentment towards him for his oppoſition to it. His majeſty, indeed, would have perſuaded him to withdraw out of the houſe, ſince he could not vote for the bill; but, after a decent excuſe, Cranmer told him, that he thought himſelf obliged in conſcience to ſtay and ſhew his diſſent.

When the bill paſſed, he entered his proteſt againſt it; and ſoon after he ſent his wife privately away to her friends in Germany. The king, who eſteemed him for his integrity and reſolution, ſent the dukes of Norfolk

folk and Suffolk, and the lord Cromwell, to assure him of his favour, notwithstanding the passing of the act.

After the death of the earl of Essex, the archbishop retired for a time from court, and attended solely to ecclesiastical affairs. And in 1541, he ordered all superstitious shrines to be taken away from the churches, pursuant to the king's letters, which he had solicited for that purpose.

The following year, he endeavoured to get the severe articles moderated, and to procure the people the full liberty of reading the Scriptures; but the Popish bishops so far prevailed, that the bill was clogged with restraints and limitations, which made it fall far short of the archbishop's benevolent design. But even as it was, his enemies could no longer brook his introduction of further reformation; and, therefore, while he was piously holding a visitation at Canterbury, they collected and drew up articles against him, which being put in order by Gardiner, and copied by his secretary, he got them signed by some of the prebendaries of Canterbury, and then, in name of the church of Canterbury, presented them to the council. By these means they came into the king's hands, who perceiving that the whole charge was founded in malice, went the same evening to amuse himself upon the river, in his barge, taking the articles with him, and ordered the bargemen to row to Lambeth, the archbishop being returned from Canterbury. The servants perceiving the king's barge approach the shore, apprised their master, who was ready upon the stairs to receive him; but the king ordered him to come into the barge, and to seat himself by him, after which, he began to lament the growth of heresy, and the dissentions, and confusion that were likely to follow; adding, that he intended to find out the encourager of these heresies, and to make him an example to the rest. He then asked the archbishop's opinion upon this, who told him, it was a very good resolution, but intreated him to consider well

well what hereſy was, and not to condemn thoſe as heretics, who ſtood up for the word of God againſt human inventions. "O my chaplain, (replied the king) now I know who is the greateſt heretic in Kent," and then ſhewed him the articles againſt him, his chaplains, and ſome of his friends, ſigned by ſome prebendaries of Canterbury, and juſtices of the peace in Kent. It both ſurpriſed and afflicted the worthy prelate, that thoſe of his own church, and juſtices, whom he had obliged, ſhould be guilty of ſuch treachery. But having looked over the articles, and knowing the falſehood of them, he kneeled to the king, and acknowledging that he was ſtill of the ſame opinion with reſpect to the ſix articles, but that he had done nothing againſt them, he deſired his majeſty to grant a commiſſion to whomſoever he pleaſed, to try the truth of the accuſations. Then the king jocoſely aſked him, if his grace's bed-chamber would ſtand the teſt of thoſe articles? The archbiſhop frankly confeſſed, that he was married in Germany, during his embaſſy at the emperor's court, before his promotion to the ſee of Canterbury; but, at the ſame time, aſſured the king, That, on paſſing that act, he had parted with his wife, and ſent her abroad to her friends.

The king, in return for his ſincerity, told him, he would grant a commiſſion for the trial, but he had ſuch confidence in his integrity, that he ſhould name him the chief commiſſioner, being well aſſured, that he would bring the truth to light, though it were againſt himſelf. He then named Dr Bellhouſe, ſecond commiſſioner, and left the reſt to the archbiſhop; adding, that if he managed the matter wiſely, he would diſcover a pretty conſpiracy againſt him. Cranmer expoſtulated with great modeſty, againſt the appearance of partiality, in making him judge in his own cauſe, but the king was determined, and thus they parted.

The candid archbiſhop appointed his vicar-general, and his principal regiſter, to be the other commiſſioners,

ers, though he knew they were ſecret favourers of the Romiſh faction. Then they went to Feverſham and opened their commiſſion, by ſending for two of the prebendaries, the principal complainants againſt the archbiſhop, who expoſtulated with them on their baſe ingratitude, in ſuch pathetic terms, that they could not refrain from weeping: after ordering them into cuſtody, Cranmer left the farther diſcovery of the plot againſt him to the other commiſſioners, but they proceeding but ſlowly in the buſineſs, the king ſent Dr Leigh, and Dr Taylor, eminent civilians, as new commiſſioners, with freſh inſtructions. Theſe gentlemen iſſued orders to the archbiſhop's officers, to go to Canterbury, and ſearch the houſes of certain prebendaries, and others, ſuſpected of the conſpiracy, and to bring all letters or other writings they could find relative to the archbiſhop to them. The ſeveral officers executed their duty at the ſame hour, and in a ſhort ſpace of time. The whole conſpiracy was diſcovered, and brought home to Gardiner, Bonner, and others, whoſe letters were found. Theſe letters were afterwards peruſed by the king; but the archbiſhop was deeply affected, on finding among the papers, letters from Dr Thornden and Dr Barber, gentlemen of his own houſehold, on whom he had beſtowed uncommon marks of eſteem and friendſhip. But the good archbiſhop, after making them paſs ſentence on themſelves, by putting the queſtion, what puniſhments the blackeſt ingratitude deſerved, produced their letters; and upon their expreſſing ſincere penitence, he diſmiſſed them from his ſervice, as unworthy of his future confidence; but he never expreſſed the leaſt reſentment againſt them afterwards, when he was obliged to ſee them upon public occaſions. The archbiſhop's mild, forgiving temper, was ſo well known, that it became a common ſaying; "Do my lord of Canterbury an ill turn, and he will be your friend ever after."

A freſh inſtance of this Chriſtian temper appeared in 1544; for Sir John Goſtwick, one of the members for Bedfordſhire, accuſed the archbiſhop, in the houſe of commons, of manifeſt hereſy againſt the ſacrament of the altar, in his ſermons and lectures at Sandwich, and at Canterbury. The king hearing of this, and knowing it to be a freſh effort of diſappointed malice, ſent a meſſage to Goſtwick, whom he called varlet, that if he did not acknowledge his fault, and ſo reconcile himſelf to the archbiſhop, that he might become his good lord, he would ſoon make him a poor Goſtwick, and puniſh him as an example to others; adding, that he wondered how Goſtwick, who had never been in Kent, could hear my lord of Canterbury out of it. Goſtwick, upon this, repaired to Lambeth, and not only obtained the archbiſhop's forgiveneſs, but his promiſe, which he performed, to intercede for him with the king.

This year, the archbiſhop's palace at Canterbury was burnt down, and his brother-in-law, with ſome other perſons, periſhed in the flames. And ſoon after this misfortune, the duke of Norfolk, and the reſt of the Popiſh party in the council, went to the king, and made a formal complaint againſt the archbiſhop, alledging that he, with his learned men, had ſo infected the kingdom, that the major part of the people were become abominable heretics; and repreſented that this might produce commotions, like thoſe which had ſprung up in Germany, on the ſame account. They therefore prayed, that the archbiſhop might be committed to the Tower, until he could be examined, giving as a reaſon, that no man would dare to object matters againſt him being a privy counſellor, till he was confined. Their importunities prevailed, but the ſame night, the king ſent a gentleman of his privy chamber to Lambeth, to fetch the archbiſhop; and, when he was come, told him, how he had been daily importuned to commit him to priſon, as a favourer of hereſy; and

and how far he had complied. The archbiſhop thanked his majeſty for this timely notice, and declared himſelf willing to go to the Tower, and ſtand a trial; for, being conſcious he was not guilty of any offence, he thought that the beſt way to clear his innocence, and remove all unreaſonable and groundleſs ſuſpicions. The king admiring his ſimplicity, told him, he was in the wrong to rely ſo much on his innocence; for, if he were once under a cloud, and hurried to priſon, there would be villains enough to ſwear any thing againſt him; but, while he was at liberty, and his character entire, it would not be ſo eaſy to ſuborn witneſſes againſt him: "and, therefore," continued he, "ſince your own unguarded ſimplicity makes you leſs cautious than you ought to be, I will ſuggeſt to you, the means of your preſervation. To-morrow, you will be ſent for to the privy council, and examined: upon this, you are to requeſt, that, ſince you have the honour to be one of the board, you may have ſo much favour as they would have themſelves; that is, to have your accuſers brought before you; and if they oppoſe this, and will not comply with your requeſt, but perſiſt in ſending you to the Tower, then do you appeal from them to our perſon, giving them this ring, (which he then delivered to Cranmer) and they ſhall well underſtand how to act; for they know I never uſe that ring for any other purpoſe, but to call matters from the council, before me."

The next morning, the archbiſhop was ſummoned to the privy-council; and when he came there, was denied admittance into the council-chamber. When Dr Butts, one of the king's phyſicians, heard of this, he came to the archbiſhop, who was waiting in the lobby amongſt the footmen, to ſhew his reſpect, and to protect him from inſults.

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mate of all England ſhould be uſed in ſo contumelious a manner, immediately ſent to command them to admit the archbiſhop into the council-chamber. At his entrance, he was ſaluted with an heavy accuſation of having infected the whole realm with hereſy; and ordered to the tower, till the whole of this charge was thoroughly examined. The archbiſhop deſired to ſee the informers againſt him, and to have the liberty of defending himſelf before the council, and not to be ſent to priſon on bare ſuſpicion: but, when this was abſolutely denied him, and he found that neither arguments nor intreaties would prevail, he appealed to the king; and producing the ring he had given him, put a ſtop to their proceedings.

When they came before the king, he ſeverely reprimanded them; expatiated on his obligations to Cranmer for his fidelity and integrity; and charged them, if they had any affection for him, to expreſs it by their love and kindneſs to the archbiſhop.

Cranmer having eſcaped this ſnare, ſhewed not the leaſt reſentment for the injuries done to him; and, from this time, had ſo great a ſhare in the king's favour, that nothing farther was attempted againſt him in this reign.

Our indefatigable prelate now ſet about a reviſion and alteration of the eccleſiaſtical laws of England, which being founded on the canon law, were incompatible with the king's ſupremacy, or the general principles of the Reformation. But when by the aſſiſtance of ſome of his friends he had completed a new body of eccleſiaſtical laws, he had the mortification to find his intereſt not ſufficient to get them confirmed by parliament.

Henry VIII. died ſoon after, and archbiſhop Cranmer had the honour to place the crown on the head of his ſucceſſor, and now having a Proteſtant prince on the throne, and being himſelf one of the regency, many meaſures were taken, ſupported by the protector

tor, to perfect the Reformation. The archbiſhop procured a repeal of the ſtatute of the ſix articles: he held a convocation in November, 1547, in which he exhorted the clergy to throw off the corrupt innovations of Popery, and to ſtudy the Scriptures; the communion in both kinds was eſtabliſhed; the marriage of prieſts declared lawful by a majority; and other meaſures taken, favourable to the new religion, in this convocation. And it was obſerved, that Gardiner and Bonner were uncommonly aſſiduous in executing the archbiſhop's orders for ſuppreſſing ridiculous proceſſions in their dioceſes. The following year, Cranmer publiſhed a catechiſm, or ſhort inſtruction in the Chriſtian religion for the uſe of children and young perſons, and a Latin treatiſe, againſt unwritten verities; intended to prove, that all idle traditions are to be diſregarded; and that the Bible ſhould be conſidered as the only oracle of ſalvation. He likewiſe obtained an order of council for the total removal of all images from the churches.

Hitherto, the conduct of archbiſhop Cranmer had been in every reſpect irreproachable, but in the year 1549, he obtained a commiſſion, together with Latimer, Ridley, and others, by no means conformable to the ſpirit or principles of true Chriſtianity as it is found in the Scriptures, which he profeſſed to make the ſole rule of all his actions. Complaint had been made to the council, that with other foreigners who had lately been encouraged, being Proteſtants, flying from perſecution, to come to England, ſeveral anabaptiſts and others, who taught ſtrange doctrines, were arrived and were propagating their errors. The commiſſioners were therefore authoriſed to endeavour to reclaim them, but if they perſiſted in their opinions to excommunicate them, and deliver them over to the ſecular power to be farther proceeded againſt. This commiſſion wore the aſpect of Popiſh perſecution; for the mode of proceeding was the ſame, only it differed as to the

objects; and it is said, it was framed after a commission given to Gardiner and Bonner in the last reign, to enforce the observance of the bloody statutes. However this be, too true it is, to the eternal dishonour of Cranmer, that he passed sentence of death on a poor ignorant woman, one Joan Bocher, who deserved the pity of a learned Christian bishop, rather than condign punishment.

She denied "that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could take none of it: but the word, she said, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her." These were her words, and they are to the full as intelligible as most of the opinions broached by the learned commentators, in the dark ages of superstition, or by our modern enthusiasts, on the same inexplicable subject. We are sorry to add, that our archbishop over-ruled the discerning young monarch, who was against signing a warrant for her execution, and when he did set his hand to it, it was with tears in his eyes, and a protestation, that if he did wrong, it was in submission to the archbishop's authority, who must answer for it to God. This made a sensible impression on Cranmer, and both he and Ridley took great pains to convert the woman, delaying the execution from time to time for this purpose) but as she absolutely refused to abjure her opinions, she was burnt in May, 1550, and not long after, George Van Parre, a Dutchman, was condemned by the commissioners and committed to the flames, for maintaining that God the Father was the only God, and that Christ was not very God.

This year, the archbishop, and other commissioners, deprived Gardiner: Bonner had shared the same fate a few months before. He also ordained several priests and deacons, for the first time, according to the form set forth in the book of Common Prayer, which having been revised, and amended, was established by act of parliament in 1552. Cranmer had now published his

Treatise

Treatiſe of the Sacrament, in which he confutes the doctrine of the real preſence, and this tract gave great offence to the Popiſh party, by whom Gardiner was perſuaded to write againſt it, and the archbiſhop was ſeverely reproached for having perſiſted ſo many years in the belief of the real preſence, and then denying it ſo ſuddenly; and, indeed, Cranmer owned that Ridley's converſation had led him to this late diſcovery of his former error. In the courſe of this year, the archbiſhop had two ſevere fits of illneſs, which prevented his attendance at the council-board, till the affair of the ſucceſſion in favour of lady Jane Grey was partly determined. It appears, that he oppoſed it, eſpecially the excluſion of the princeſs Elizabeth; but in the end, he ſubſcribed, and after Edward's death, he openly appeared for lady Jane, and was one of her council. But upon the acceſſion of Mary, a falſe report was raiſed, that archbiſhop Cranmer, in order to make his court to the queen, had offered to reſtore the Latin ſervice, and that he had already ſaid maſs in his cathedral church at Canterbury. To vindicate himſelf from this vile and baſe aſperſion, the archbiſhop publiſhed a declaration, in which he not only cleared himſelf from that unjuſt imputation, but alſo made a challenge, with the aſſiſtance of Peter Martyr, and a few more, to maintain by a public diſputation, the liturgy eſtabliſhed in the late reign. This declaration ſoon fell into the hands of the council, who cited him to appear in the Star Chamber, where he was aſked, if he was the author of that ſeditious declaration that was given out in his name.

Cranmer acknowledged it to be his; but complained that it had, contrary to his intention, ſtolen abroad in an imperfect condition: for his deſign was to review and correct it; and then, after he had put his ſeal to it, to fix it up at St Paul's, and on all the church doors in London.

Contrary

Contrary to his own expectations, he was dismissed after this examination, though he saw his answer had enraged the commissioners; and now his friends who foresaw this storm, advised him to consult his safety by retiring beyond sea. But he thought it would reflect a great dishonour on the cause he had espoused, if he should desert his station at such a time as this; and he chose rather to hazard his life, than give such just cause of scandal and offence. In a few days after, he was summoned to attend the council, and was charged with high treason against the queen, which he had aggravated by dispersing seditious bills, exciting tumults, to the great disquiet of the state.

In November, 1553, archbishop Cranmer was attainted by the parliament, and adjudged guilty of high treason. His see was hereupon declared void; and on the tenth of December, the dean and chapter of Canterbury gave commissions to several persons to exercise archiepiscopal jurisdiction in their name, and by their authority. The queen also now gave her subjects a specimen of her bigotry, ingratitude, and revenge. She was under personal obligations to Cranmer, of the highest nature, who had interceded for her with her father, when he had resolved to put her to death publicly, for adhering to the cause of her mother, and refusing to submit to him after their separation. Neither the Duke of Norfolk, nor Gardiner, though they were then in power, would venture to plead for her; but our archbishop boldly represented to the king, that such an act would fill all Europe with horror and astonishment. But the same prelate divorced her mother, and he was a heretic; these two crimes were thought sufficient to cancel every obligation; and, therefore, with true Jesuitical subtilty, she pardoned him the treason, but left him in custody, in the hands of his bitter enemies, to suffer a more cruel death, as a heretic.

In

In April, 1554, the archbiſhop was removed from the Tower to Oxford, to diſpute with ſome ſelect perſons of both univerſities. At the firſt appearance of the archbiſhop in the public ſchools, three articles were given him to ſubſcribe; in which the corporeal preſence, by tranſubſtantiation, was aſſerted, and the maſs affirmed to be a propitiatory ſacrifice for the ſins of the living and the dead. Theſe, he declared freely, he eſteemed groſs untruths; and promiſed to give an anſwer concerning them in writing.

Accordingly, he drew it up; and, when he was brought again to the ſchools to diſpute, he delivered the writing to Dr Weſton, the prolocutor. At eight in the morning the diſputation began, and held till two in the afternoon: all which time, the archbiſhop conſtantly maintained the truth, with great learning and courage, againſt a multitude of clamorous and inſolent opponents; and three days after, he was again brought forth to oppoſe Dr Harpsfield, who was to reſpond for his decree in divinity: and here he acquitted himſelf ſo well, clearly ſhewing the groſs abſurdities, and inextricable difficulties of the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, that Weſton himſelf, as great a bigot as he was, could not but diſmiſs him with commendation. In theſe diſputations, with other ſlanderous reproaches, the archbiſhop was accuſed of corrupting and falſifying a paſſage which, in his book of the Sacrament, he had quoted from St Hilary. In anſwer to which, he replied, that he had tranſcribed it verbatim from the printed book; and that Dr Smith one of their own divines, there preſent, had quoted it word for word alſo. But Smith made no reply, being conſcious that it was true.

When the diſputation was over, one Mr Heleot remembering that he had Smith's book, went directly to his chamber in Univerſity-college; and comparing it with Cranmer's, found the quotations exactly to agree. He afterwards looked into a book of Gardiner's called,

called, "The Devil's Sophiſtry," where the ſame paſſage was cited; and both the Latin and Engliſh agreed exactly with Cranmer's quotation and tranſlation. Upon this, he reſolved to carry the ſaid books to the archbiſhop in priſon, that he might produce them in his own vindication.

When he came thither, he was ſtopped and brought before Dr Weſton and his colleagues, who, upon information of his deſign, charged him with treaſon, and abetting Cranmer in his hereſy; and committed him to priſon. The next day, he was again brought before them; and they threatened to ſend him to Gardiner, to be tried for treaſon, unleſs he would ſubſcribe to the three articles concerning which this deputation had been held. This he then refuſed; but, being ſent for again, after the condemnation of Cranmer, through fear, he conſented to it; yet not till they had aſſured him, that, if he ſinned by ſo doing, they would take the guilt upon themſelves, and anſwer for it to God: and yet even this ſubſcription, of which he afterwards heartily repented, could not prevail for the reſtoring his books, leſt he ſhould ſhew them to their ſhame; nor for his entire diſcharge, the maſter of Univerſity-college being commanded to keep a ſtrict watch over him till Gardiner's pleaſure concerning him was known; and, if he heard nothing from him in a fortnight's time, then to expel him the college for his offence.

On the twentieth of April, Cranmer was brought to St Mary's, before the queen's commiſſioners; and refuſing to ſubſcribe, was pronounced an heretic, and ſentence of condemnation read againſt him as ſuch: upon which the archbiſhop ſaid, "From this your unjuſt judgment and ſentence, I appeal to the juſt judgement of the Almighty, truſting to be preſent with him in heaven." After this, his ſervants were diſmiſſed from their attendance, and he was more cloſely confined in priſon. The commiſſioners and a Popiſh convocation

vocation then met, and did archbiſhop Cranmer the honour to order his book of the Sacrament to be burnt, in company with the Engliſh Bible and Common Prayer Book.

In 1555, a new commiſſion was ſent from Rome for the trial of archbiſhop Cranmer for hereſy; the former ſentence againſt him being void in law, becauſe the authority of the pope was not then re-eſtabliſhed. The commiſſioners were Dr Brooks, biſhop of Glouceſter, the pope's delegate, Dr Storey, and Dr Martin, doctors of the civil law, the queen's commiſſioners.

On the 12th of September they met at St Mary's church, and commanded the archbiſhop to be brought before them. To the queen's commiſſioners, as repreſenting the ſupreme authority of the nation, he paid all due reſpect, but abſolutely refuſed to ſhow any to the pope's repreſentative, leſt he ſhould ſeem to make the leaſt acknowledgement of his uſurped ſupremacy.

He was charged with blaſphemy and hereſy, for what he had done and written againſt the pope's authority; with perjury in violating his oath to the pope; and with incontinence, on account of his marriage. The archbiſhop defended himſelf with great reſolution, and anſwered ſixteen interrogatories, which were put to him; after which Brooks, in the pope's name, cited him to appear at Rome, within eighty days, there to deliver his vindication in perſon: an act of the moſt flagrant injuſtice, as it was out of his power to comply, if he had thought it proper, being kept a cloſe priſoner all the time. To add to the abſurdity, as well as the cruelty of theſe proceedings, letters executory addreſſed to Philip and Mary, Bonner, biſhop of London, and Thirlby, biſhop of Ely, to degrade and deprive him, arrived in England from the pope on the 14th of December; in which letters he was declared contumacious for not appearing at Rome.

Some time before the archbiſhop's degradation, he wrote two letters to the queen, in which he repreſent-

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ed to her the great evils which would reſult from the re-eſtabliſhment of the pope's authority in England; which, he ſaid, would ſubvert not only the laws of the nation, but the laws of God. He alſo endeavoured to convince her of the erroneouſneſs of the Romiſh doctrine of the ſacrament. He vindicated himſelf in his refuſal to acknowledge the Papal authority; and reminded her majeſty, that at her coronation, ſhe took an oath to the pope, to be obedient to him, to defend his perſon, and to maintain his authority, honour, laws, and privileges; and, at the ſame time, another oath to the kingdom, to maintain the laws, liberties, and cuſtoms of the ſame. He entreated her ſeriouſly to examine both oaths, and to ſee how well they would agree, and then to act as her conſcience ſhould direct. He feared, he ſaid, that there were contradictions in her oaths; and that thoſe who ſhould have informed her majeſty thoroughly, had not done their duty therein. He complained, that he was kept from the company of learned men, from books, from counſel, and from pen and ink, except what was now granted him, in order to write to her majeſty. And as to his appearance at Rome, if ſhe would give him leave, he ſaid, he would appear there; and he truſted in God, that he would enable him to defend his truth there as well as here.

The delay in the proceedings againſt Cranmer have been accounted for in the life of Gardiner; and will be further noticed in the memoirs of cardinal Pole. The mortifying ceremony of degradation was not performed till the fourteenth of February, 1556, when the archbiſhop was brought before Bonner and Thirlby. After they had read their commiſſion from the pope, Bonner, in a ſcurrilous oration, inſulted over him in a moſt unchriſtian manner; for which he was often rebuked by Thirlby. When Bonner had finiſhed his invective againſt him, they proceeded to degrade him; and, that they might make him as ridiculous as poſſible,

poſſible, the epiſcopal habit they put on him was made of canvas. Then the archbiſhop, pulling out of his ſleeve a written appeal, delivered it to them, ſaying, "I appeal to the next general council."

When they had degraded him, they put on him an old thread-bare gown, and a townſman's coat; and in that garb delivered him over to the ſecular power. As they were leading him to priſon, a gentleman came and gave ſome money to the bailiffs for the archbiſhop: but this charitable action gave ſuch offence to Bonner, that he ordered the gentleman to be ſeized; and, had he not found great friends to intercede for him, would have ſent him up to the council to be tried for it.

While the archbiſhop continued in priſon, no endeavours were omitted to bring him over to the church of Rome. Many of the moſt eminent divines in the univerſity reſorted to him daily, hoping, by arguments and perſuaſions, to prevail, but in vain. At length, his enemies finding that neither threats, nor fallacious arguments, could ſhake the fortitude of his ſoul, fell upon a ſtratagem which proved fatal to his reputation. They removed him from priſon to the lodgings of the dean of Chriſt-church; they treated him with the greateſt civility and reſpect, made him large promiſes of the queen's favour, and the reſtitution of his former dignities, if he would only ſet his name to a paper. He reſiſted their importunities for ſome time, but by continual repreſentations of the difference between the proſpect of living many years honoured and eſteemed, and the horrors of voluntarily putting a period to his days, by the terrible death of fire, human frailty gave way to the temptation; and, in an unguarded moment, he ſigned a renunciation of the Proteſtant, and an acknowledgement of his belief of the Romiſh religion, in the moſt ample terms, declaring himſelf ſorry for his paſt errors, exhorting all whom he had miſled to return to the Romiſh faith, and proteſting, that he had ſigned the pa-

per willingly, and ſolely for the acquittal of his conſcience.

When the Popiſh party had obtained this triumph over the unfortunate archbiſhop, they cauſed his recantation to be printed and diſperſed with all expedition; and now the mean, baſe perfidy, and treachery of his perſecutors, manifeſted itſelf in the blackeſt colours. Even the queen, whoſe honour was concerned, that the promiſes made in her name ſhould not be violated, was the firſt to declare, that his recanting muſt not ſerve his turn, though it would be ſufficient in all other caſes. It was, indeed, good (ſhe ſaid) for his ſoul, that he had repented, and might do good to others; but yet the ſentence muſt be executed. Her majeſty ſeems to have adopted the opinion, mantained by ſome of her own church, that faith was not to be kept with heretics.

The warrant for the archbiſhop's execution was accordingly ſent down to Oxford, but he was kept in profound ignorance of this fatal mandate, from their apprehenſion that he would retract the recantation drawn from him, by their infamous deluſions.

Dr Cole, provoſt of Eton, was likewiſe appointed to preach a ſermon at the ſtake, and the day before the execution, he viſited the archbiſhop in priſon, to exhort him to remain ſtedfaſt in the faith, to which he had ſubſcribed, but he made no mention of his approaching death.

On the 21ſt of March, 1556, the day appointed for this authoriſed murder, ſeveral members of the council, and other perſons of rank, who had been ſent to Oxford by the court, to prevent any tumult, which might happen upon the occaſion, aſſembled early in the morning, which proving rainy, it was agreed, that the ſermon intended to have been preached at the ſtake, ſhould be preached at St Mary's church, and accordingly, the archbiſhop was brought there by the mayor, accompanied by lord Williams and other courtiers;

ers; and placed on a low ſcaffold oppoſite the pulpit.

Then Dr Cole began his ſermon; the chief ſcope whereof was, to endeavour to give ſome reaſons why it was expedient that Cranmer ſhould ſuffer, notwithſtanding his racantation: and, in the cloſe, he addreſſed himſelf particularly to the archbiſhop, exhorting him to bear up with courage againſt the terrors of death; and, by the example of the thief on the croſs, encouraged him not to deſpair, ſince he was returned, though late, into the boſom of the catholic church, and to the profeſſion of the true apoſtolical faith.

The archbiſhop, who, till now, had not the leaſt noice of his intended execution, was ſtruck with horror at the baſe treachery and unparalleled cruelty of their proceedings. During the whole ſermon he wept inceſſantly: ſometimes lifting up his eyes to Heaven, ſometimes caſting them down to the ground, with marks of the utmoſt dejection.

When it was over, Cole deſired him to make an open declaration of his faith, as he had promiſed, upon which he knelt down, and prayed in the moſt fervent manner; then riſing, he exhorted the people not to ſet their minds upon the world; to obey the queen; to live in mutual love; to avoid covetouſneſs; and to be charitable to the poor. Then he repeated the apoſtles Creed, and profeſſed his belief thereof, and of all things contained in the Old and New Teſtament: after which he declared his great unfeigned repentance for having, contrary to his faith ſubſcribed the Popiſh doctrines; lamented it with many tears; and declared, that the hand, which had ſo offended, ſhould be burnt before the reſt of his body. Then he renounced the pope, in the moſt expreſs terms; and profeſſed his belief concerning the Euchariſt, to be the ſame with that he had aſſerted in his book againſt Gardiner.

This was a mortifying diſappointment to the Papiſts; they made loud clamours, and charged him with hypo-

criſy and faleſhood. To which he meekly replied, That he was a plain man, and never acted the hypocrite, but when he was ſeduced by them to a recantation.—He would have proceeded, but Dr Cole cried out from the pulpit, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away." Upon which, they pulled him down with violence, and hurried him to the place of execution, the ſame where Latimer and Ridley had ſuffered the year before. He approached it with a chearful countenance; and, notwithſtanding the earneſt ſolicitations of many of the Papiſts, continued ſtill to declare his utter abhorrence of the Popiſh errors, and hearty repentance for having recanted.

After this, he kneeled down and prayed; and then having undreſſed himſelf, and taken leave of his friends, he was bound to the ſtake. As ſoon as the fire was kindled, he ſtretched forth his right arm, and held it, ſtedfaſtly and without ſhrinking, in the flame (only once he wiped his face with it) till it was quite conſumed, which was ſome time before the fire reached his body, but he did not expreſs any great ſenſation of pain. He often cried out, "This unworthy hand! this unworthy hand!" and, lifting up his eyes to heaven, expired, repeating the dying words of St Stephen, "Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit!"

Archbiſhop Cranmer was a prelate of conſiderable abilities and learning; but he had chiefly directed his ſtudies to thoſe branches of knowledge that were moſt immediately connected with his own profeſſion. Mr Gilpen ſays, "He had applied himſelf in Cambridge to the ſtudy of the Greek and Hebrew languages; which, though eſteemed at that time as the mark of hereſy, appeared to him the only ſources of attaining a critical knowledge of the ſcriptures. He had ſo accurately ſtudied canon law, that he was eſteemed the beſt canoniſt in England; and his reading in theology was ſo extenſive, and his collections from the fathers ſo very voluminous, that there were very few points,

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in which he was not accurately informed; and on which he could not give the opinions of the ſeveral ages of the church from the times of the apoſtles. "If I had not ſeen with my own eyes," ſays Peter Martyr, "I could not eaſily have believed, with what infinite pains and labour he had digeſted his great reading into particular chapters, under the heads of councils, canons, decrees, &c." His library was filled with a very noble collection of books, and was open to all men of letters. He roſe commonly at five o'clock, and was a great œconomiſt of his time. He accuſtomed himſelf much to read and write in a ſtanding poſture, eſteeming conſtant ſitting very pernicious to a ſtudious man.

He was very kind to his ſervants and dependents, and extremely hoſpitable and generous to the poor. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that archbiſhop Cranmer "laid out all his wealth on the poor, and pious uſes. He had hoſpitals and ſurgeons in his houſe for the king's ſeamen; he gave penſions to many of thoſe that had fled out of Germany into England; and kept up that which is hoſpitality indeed at his table, where great numbers of the honeſt and poor neighbours were always invited, inſtead of the luxury and extravagance of great entertainments, which the vanity and exceſs of the age we live in has honoured with the name of hoſpitality."

*** *Authorities.* Fox. Memoirs of Cranmer, by Strype. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation. Gilpin's Life of Archbiſhop Cranmer.

THE LIFE OF

CARDINAL POLE.

(Including Memoirs of EDMUND BONNER, Biſhop of LONDON.)

[A. D. 1500, to 1558.]

REGINALD POLE was deſcended from royal blood, being a younger ſon of Sir Richard Pole, lord Montague, Knight of the Garter, and couſin-german to Henry VII. by Margaret, his wife, daughter of George, duke of Clarence, younger brother to king Edward IV. He was born at Stoverton Caſtle, in Staffordſhire, in the year 1500; and, at about the age of twelve, was ſent to Magdalen College, in Oxford, where an apartment was provided for him in the preſident's lodgings. The famous Linacre, and William Latimer, two of the greateſt maſters of thoſe times in the Greek and Latin tongues, were our young nobleman's principal preceptors; and he made a conſiderable progreſs in his ſtudies under them.

In 1517, he was made prebendary of Roſcomb, in the church of Saliſbury; to which the deanry of Exeter, and other valuable preferments, were added about two years after. But he did not take any orders, as moſt writers have aſſerted.

He was now nineteen years of age, and, having laid the foundation of learning at Oxford, it was determined to ſend him, for farther improvement, to Italy, where the liberal arts and ſciences then flouriſhed; and for this purpoſe, an eſtabliſhment ſuitable to his rank was provided by the king, who allowed him a liberal yearly penſion, beſides the income of his eccleſiaſtical preferments.

He was therefore accompanied to Italy by ſeveral learned Engliſhmen, beſides a proper retinue of attendants;

gants; and after viſiting ſeveral other univerſities, he ſettled at Padua; where his houſe ſoon became the reſort of the moſt eminent literati of the age, with ſome of whom he formed an intimacy which laſted for life. Of theſe, the moſt diſtinguiſhed by him were, Bembo, Sadolet, Longolius, and Thomas Lupſet, a learned Engliſhman, whom he took into his family, and by his recomendation, Eraſmus opened a correſpondence with our young ſtudent, which produced a friendly intercourſe between them. As to the profeſſors, knowing how nearly he was related to the king of England, they ſtrenuouſly exerted themſelves to complete his education, and as they likewiſe partook of his noble liberality, they were not ſparing of the moſt flattering encomiums on his genius and accompliſhments, taking care to publiſh that their pupil was an honour to them, and an ornament to the univerſity. From Padua he went to Venice, where he continued ſome time, and then viſited other parts of Italy.

Having ſpent five years abroad, he was recalled home: but being very deſirous to ſee the jubilee, which was celebrated at Rome in 1525, he took a tour to that city; from whence paſſing by Florence, he returned to England, before the end of the year; and was received with great affection and honour, by the court and nobility. But devotion and ſtudy being his ſole delight, he retired to the convent of the Carthuſians at Sheen, in Surrey, where he had received the firſt rudiments of education, having obtained a grant from the king of the apartment which the late Dr Colet had built for his own uſe.

He had paſſed two years with great pleaſure in this retirement, when king Henry VIII. began to ſtart his ſcruples about the lawfulneſs of his marriage with queen Catherine. Pole, forſeeing the troubles which this incident muſt occaſion, and that he ſhould not eſcape being involved in them, if he ſtaid in the kingdom, reſolved to withdraw; and obtained his majeſ-

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ty's leave to go to Paris in 1529. Here, carrying ſome learned perſons in his train, he paſſed his time in literary eaſe, till the king, proſecuting the affair of the divorce, and ſending to the moſt celebrated univerſities in Europe for their opinion on his caſe, commanded him to aſſiſt his agents in procuring the ſubſcription and ſeal of the univerſity of Paris to the illegality of the marriage.

Pole, being of the contrary opinion, as it appeared afterwards, excuſed himſelf to the king in his letters, by ſaying, that his ſtudies had lain another way. But Henry was ſo much diſpleaſed, that, when his kinſman returned home, not long after, he was adviſed, by all means, to clear himſelf of all diſloyalty, and appeaſe his majeſty's anger: and, having averted the ſtorm for the preſent, by his ſubmiſſion, he retired to his former ſolitude at Sheen.

About two years after this, the meaſure was ſecretly reſolved upon of deciding the king's cauſe independently of the Pope; and as Pole was univerſally eſteemed for his learning and piety, and was beſides of the royal blood, it was obſerved, that his conſent would be of great ſervice as an example to others. Accordingly, no means were left untried to win him over, even the Archbiſhopric of York, at this time vacant, was offered to him: and, being irreſiſtibly preſſed on every ſide, he yielded, and repaired to the king, with a deſign to give him ſatisfaction: but his conſcience checking him the moment he was about to ſpeak, he was not able to utter a word, for ſome time; but being recovered, he quitted his former purpoſe, and ſpoke his ſentiments freely againſt the divorce, which being quite unexpected and diſpleaſing, exaſperated the king to ſuch a degree, that with a countenance full of anger, he put his hand to his dagger, but recollecting himſelf, he only ſaid, "I will conſider of your opinion, and you ſhall have my anſwer:" but he never ſent for him more.

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Pole, however, being apprehenſive that farther danger would inevitably accrue to him, if he continued in England, obtained permiſſion once more to go abroad: and his majeſty was ſo far ſatisfied at preſent, that he continued his penſion for ſome time.

The firſt place Pole went to was Avignon in France. This town was under the pope's juriſdiction, and here he continued unmoleſted for the ſpace of a year; but finding the air did not agree with his conſtitution, he left it, and went to Padua. In this favourite univerſity he fixed his reſidence the ſecond time, making excurſions now and then to Venice.

Pole had now been a conſiderable time abroad, and Henry had frequently intimated his deſire that he would return home: but he made ſundry excuſes, and at laſt wrote to the king, that he neither approved of his divorce, nor his ſeparation from the holy ſee, both of which had now taken place. The king, in return, ſent him over a book written in England, by Dr Sampſon, in ſupport of his own ſupremacy, and required his opinion in anſwer to it. Upon this, Pole wrote his famous ſophiſtical treatiſe, intitled, *De unitate Eccleſiaſtica*, and ſent it over to the king. In this book, he condemned the king's actions, depreſſed the royal and exalted the papal authority, compared the king to Nebuchadnezzar, and concluded with an addreſs to the Emperor, conjuring him to turn his arms rather againſt the king, than the Turk.

Henry concealed his reſentment, and wrote to him requiring him, all excuſes apart, to return immediately to England, that he might confer with him on the ſubject of his book and his letters, which required further explanation. But this angel of peace, as he is ſtyled by Phillips (a modern Popiſh writer of his life,) had no inclination, it ſeems, to die a martyr in the pope's cauſe; and, therefore, taking warning by the fate of More and Fiſher, he wiſely, and peremptorily refuſed to return; upon which the king withdrew his penſions,

penſions, and deprived him of his preferments, in England, and not long after, an act of attainder paſſed againſt him.

The attachment conſtantly ſhewn by Pole to the Papal intereſt, and his preſent misfortunes conſequent thereupon, made it expedient, that the Roman Pontiff ſhould publicly teſtify his approbation of his conduct, by ſome ſignal honour. Accordingly he was ſummoned to Rome, as the repreſentative of England, in a general council, to be held for the reformation of abuſes, not in the doctrine, for that they held ſacred and incapable of error, but in the adminiſtration of affairs of the church. He arrived at Rome in 1536, where he was lodged in the pope's palace, and treated with great reſpect. His holineſs immediately propoſed to make him a Cardinal, but Pole, who had much higher temporal preferment in view, no leſs than the crown of England, by marrying the princeſs Mary, remonſtrated againſt this promotion, and the pope ſeemed to acquieſce; but the next day, he inſiſted on his obedience, and Pole, who was not yet in holy orders, nor had received the clerical tonſure, ſubmitted to this ceremony, ſays Beccatelli, who was preſent, "with as much reluctance as the lamb to the ſheering knife." After which, he was created Cardinal deacon of St Nereus and Achilleus. His holineſs then appointed him nuncio to the courts of France and Flanders, that he might be the better enabled, from the vicinity of of his reſidence, to correſpond with the Roman catholics in England, and keep up the declining intereſts of the papacy in this country.

At Paris, he was received by the king very honourably, but did not ſtay long there; for Henry, being informed of it, ſent to demand him of the French monarch; which being notified to him by that prince, he removed to Cambray, and put himſelf under the protection of the biſhop. But this was no place of ſafety for him, on account of the war between France and the

the Empire, in which Henry was engaged; ſo that the Engliſh ſoldiers were continually harraſſing thoſe parts. The nuncio was therfore obliged to quit it, with precipitation; for as the price had been ſet upon his head, he was expoſed to imminent danger, if he fell into their hands. He choſe Liege for his next reſidence, in conſequence of an invitation from Erardas the cardinal biſhop, who received him with brotherly kindneſs. He continued at Liege about three months, expecting that the Emperor and the king of France would fulfil their engagements with him by doing their utmoſt to foment the diſturbances raiſed by the rebellious Roman catholics in England; but this proſpect failing he was recalled to Rome.

Pole, while he was employed in holding correſpondence with Henry's rebellious ſubjects, and while he was abuſing him in the moſt ſcurrilous manner in his publications, complained in his letters to the pope, and to the French nuncio, of the ignominious treatment which he had met with from the king of England, who had proclaimed him a traitor and ſet a price upon his head: and though he owned his treaſonable deſigns againſt Henry in the ſame letters, he had the duplicity to write to Lord Cromwell, about the ſame time, to clear himſelf from the imputation of diſloyalty. This is another inconſiſtency with the character given him by Phillips, who makes his piety and ſincerity his chief virtues.

At the cloſe of the year 1538, his holineſs imagining, that the bulls of excommunication and depoſition, which he had publiſhed againſt Henry, would make his ſubjects better diſpoſed to break out into another rebellion, diſpatched the cardinal a ſecond time, in diſguiſe, to France and Flanders, upon the ſame pious buſineſs. But this ſcheme being counterworked by Henry, the cardinal met with a cool reception from his Imperial majeſty; whereupon he returned by the ſame road to Avignon, where he acquainted the pope with

with his ill ſucceſs; and, receiving a letter from his holineſs to continue in thoſe parts, he took this opportunity of making a viſit at Carpentars to his acquaintance and beloved friend cardinal Jacob Sadolet; with whom he ſpent ſix months, and then came to Verona, where he ſtaid ſome time with Gilbert, biſhop of that ſee. After this, he was appointed legate to Viterbo, near Rome, in which ſtation he continued till 1542, when the pope, having called the council of Trent, appointed him together with cardinal Paris, and cardinal John Morone, his three legates; but, as the council could not then aſſemble, on account of the wars which aroſe in Germany, and other Chriſtian ſtates, Pole returned to Viterbo. Between this place and Rome he paſſed his time, following his ſtudies in great repoſe and tranquillity, till in 1545, when the pope iſſued a ſecond citation for holding the council at the ſame place, and appointed Pole again, but with two different cardinals, his legates. Pole's colleagues arrived at Trent long before him; for his journey was delayed, upon the pretext that Henry had employed his emiſſaries to ſeize him on the road. At this time, he wrote a treatiſe on the nature and end of general councils, and at length he repaired to Trent, eſcorted through thoſe parts, where danger was apprehended, by a detachment of the pope's cavalry.

To account for the cardinal's juſt fears, it is neceſſary to mention, that his mother Margaret, counteſs of Saliſbury, his eldeſt brother Henry Pole, lord Montague, the marquis of Exeter, Sir Edward Nevil, and and Sir Nicholas Carew, had been condemned and executed in England for high treaſon, in conſpiring to bring the cardinal to the throne. And though they were taken off, the deſign, Henry remaining under the pope's interdict, was not dropped at this time. The tranſactions of the council of Trent, called by lord Bolingbroke, "a ſolemn banter, may be paſſed over, being of little import to Proteſtant readers, and as the

cardinal

cardinal was obliged to retire to Padua, on account of his bad ſtate of health, we ſhall only obſerve, that it was removed to Bononia, after an oppoſition from the Imperial ambaſſador, upon which occaſion, Pole, invariably attached to the holy ſee, defended the pope's right to remove it, in the year 1546.

The next account we have of him, worth relating, is an extraordinary inſtance of his zealous audacity. Soon after Henry's death, he wrote a letter to the regency and council, adviſing them to reconcile the kingdom to the pope, and aſſured them, that if his advice were not followed, the kingdom would be expoſed to imminent dangers, and added, that the pope was willing, in charity to their ſouls, to ſend him over, to remedy their evils. He likewiſe addreſſed a written juſtification of himſelf to Edward VI. But the council diſregarding both his ſolicitations and his menaces, he gave the kingdom no farther trouble in his reign.

Pope Paul III. dying in 1549, our cardinal was twice elected to ſucceed him, but refuſed both the elections; one as being too haſty, and without deliberation; and the other, becauſe it was done in the middle of the night. This conduct has been aſcribed by Phillips and others to delicacy; but the true motive was his diſtant view of the crown of England, to the poſſeſſion of which no bar aroſe, in his opinion, from an heretical prince being ſeated on the throne, provided he could marry the princeſs Mary. Julius III. being choſen upon his refuſal, and the tranquillity of Rome being ſoon after much diſturbed by the wars in France, and on the borders of Italy, Pole retired, with the pope's leave, to a monaſtery of the Benedictines at Maguzano, in the territory of Verona.

In this retirement he continued till the death of Edward VI. but on the acceſſion of queen Mary, it was

determined by the court of Rome, that Pole ſhould be ſent legate into England, as the fitteſt inſtrument, on all accounts, to effect the reduction of the kingdom to the obedience of the pope. The undertaking, however, required ſome conſideration. The act of attainder, which had paſſed againſt him under Henry VIII. had been confirmed by Edward, and conſequently remained ſtill in force. Our legate, therefore, did not think it ſafe to venture his perſon in England, till he underſtood the true ſtate of things there. However, it was not long before he received full ſatisfaction upon all theſe points, and accordingly ſet out for England, by way of Germany, in the month of October 1553; but he had not proceeded far in the emperor's dominions, when a meſſage came to him from that prince, to put a ſtop to his farther progreſs at preſent. This was ſoon followed by an expreſs from queen Mary to the ſame purpoſe, who, to keep him in good humour, ſent him the two acts that had paſſed, for the juſtification of her mother's marriage, and for bringing all things back to the ſtate they were in at her father's death, deſiring him likewiſe to ſend her a liſt of ſuch perſons as ſhould be made biſhops.

The cardinal being ſatisfied, that the true cauſe of this delay was to prevent his arrival in England before the queen's marriage to Philip ſhould be completed, was not a little nettled at it, and wrote a letter to her majeſty, wherein he ſaid, he knew that this ſtop to his journey proceeded from the political views of the emperor; that he had ſpoken to the emperor's confeſſor about it, and had convinced him of the impropriety of ſuch courſes, and ſet him to work on his maſter. He alſo told the queen, he was afraid that carnal pleaſures might govern her too much, and that ſhe might thereby fall from her ſimplicity in Chriſt, wherein ſhe had hitherto lived. He encouraged her, therefore, to put on a ſpirit of wiſdom and courage, and to truſt in God, who had preſerved her ſo long.

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With regard to the acts, he found fault that no mention was made in the firſt of the pope's bulls, by the authority of which, only, it could be a lawful marriage; and he did not like, that in the other act, the worſhip of God, and the ſacraments, were to be as they were in the laſt year of her father's reign, for then they were in a ſtate of ſchiſm, the pope's interdict ſtill lying on the nation, and till that were taken off, none could, without ſin, either adminiſter or receive them. He confeſſed he knew none of either houſe fit to propoſe the matter of rejecting the ſupremacy, which had been uſurped by her father, and her brother; and therefore he thought it beſt for herſelf to go to the parliament, having before-hand acquainted ſome few, both of the ſpirituality and temporality, with her deſign, and tell the houſe, ſhe was afflicted at the ſchiſm, and deſired a legate to come over from the apoſtolic ſee, to treat about it; and ſhould thereupon propoſe the reverſion of his attainder.

But the queen's marriage with Philip meeting with great oppoſition in England, it was reſolved that the legate ſhould be kept at a diſtance. With this view, another legation was contrived for him, to mediate a peace between the empire and France, in which he was unſucceſsful. In the mean time, the marriage between Philip and Mary being ſolemnized, no further oppoſition was made to the legate's journey; and, therefore, the lords Paget and Haſtings were ſent to Bruſſels to conduct him to England. He arrived at Dover, on the 20th of November, 1554, where he was received by the biſhop of Ely, lord Montague, and other perſons of diſtinction. He then proceeded by land to Graveſend, where he was met by the biſhop of Durham, and the earl of Shrewſbury, who preſented him with the repeal of the act of his attainder, that had paſſed the day before. He afterwards went on board a yacht, which conveyed him to Whitehall, where he was received with the utmoſt ve-

neration by their majeſties; and after all poſſible honour and reſpect paid to him at court, he was conducted to the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, the deſtined place of his reſidence, which had been ſumptuouſly fitted for his reception.

On the 27th, he went to the parliament, and made a long and grave ſpeech, inviting them to a reconciliation with the apoſtolic ſee, from whence, he ſaid, he was ſent by the common paſtor of Chriſtendom to recover them, who had long ſtrayed from the incloſure of the church. This ſpeech produced a pretended miracle on the part of the queen, who affected to be not only pregnant, but that the joy ſhe felt upon the occaſion had made the child leap within her; and upon this declaration, *Te Deum* was ordered to be ſung in all the churches in London; and Bonner cauſed prayers to be put up, that the child might be a male, well favoured, vigorous, and witty. No farther proof can be wanting, of the wretched bigotry of Mary, who thus ſet an example in her own perſon, for reſtoring the old fraudulent tricks of the Popiſh prieſts, ever ready to forge miracles, in aid of their deluſions.

On the 29th, the ſpeaker reported to the commons the ſubſtance of this ſpeech; and a meſſage coming from the lords for a conference, in order to prepare a ſupplication, to be reconciled to the ſee of Rome, it was conſented to, and the petition being agreed on, was reported and approved by both houſes; ſo that being preſented by them on their knees to the king and queen, theſe made their interceſſion with the cardinal, who thereupon delivered a long ſpeech, at the end of which, he granted them abſolution. This done, they all went to the royal chapel, where *Te Deum* was ſung on the occaſion. Thus the pope's authority being now reſtored, the cardinal, two days afterwards, made his public entry into London, with all the ſolemnities of a legate, and preſently ſet about the buſineſs of purging the church of pretended here-

ſy.

ſy. But though theſe proceedings gave great ſatisfaction to the court, the cardinal had the mortification to find that they were deteſted by the citizens of London; for when he made his public entry, in paſſing through the city, no ſort of reſpect was ſhewn to him, and his bleſſing the people as he paſſed, was openly laughed at. This probably ſoured his temper, which it is pretended was naturally mild and amiable; it has likewiſe been aſſerted, that he adviſed moderate meaſures with reſpect to the Proteſtants; but it is an indubitable fact, that one of the firſt acts of his legantine authority was, to grant commiſſions for the proſecution of heretics; and he openly expreſſed his deteſtation of the reformed, refuſing to converſe with any who had been of that party. Indeed, he now put on the pride and reſerve of a Spaniſh inquiſitor. To this we muſt add, that the inſtructions he ſent to the biſhops and clergy, concerning the Proteſtants, plainly ſhew, that he was at the bottom of the ſanguinary proceedings of Gardiner and Bonner, though he made them the inſtruments of his cruelty and revenge.

In the mean time, the queen diſpatched ambaſſadors to Rome, to make obedience, in the name of the whole kingdom, to the pope; who had already proclaimed a jubilee on that occaſion. But theſe meſſengers had ſcarcely ſet a foot on Italian ground, when they were informed of the death of Julius III. and the election of Marcellus II. his ſucceſſor. But this pontiff dying ſoon after, the queen, upon the firſt news of it, recommended her kinſman to the popedom; and diſpatches were accordingly ſent to Rome for the purpoſe, but they came too late, Peter Caraffa, who took the name of Paul IV. being elected before their arrival. This pope, who had never liked our cardinal, was better pleaſed with the biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe temper exactly tallied with his own. In this diſpoſition he favoured Gardiner's views upon the ſee of Canterbury.

The cardinal, however, had now the ſole management of eccleſiaſtical affairs; and from this time it is demonſtrable, from the moſt authentic records, that the perſecution became more violent, and the executions more frequent. In proof of which, let it be remembered, that Gardiner, who ſecretly deteſted Pole, turned over the bloody buſineſs to Bonner ſoon after the cardinal's arrival; and that in three months after Gardiner's death, Cranmer was degraded and burnt, to make room for the cardinal, in the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury, after he had loſt all hopes of the papal chair. Pole was made archbiſhop of Canterbury the day after Cranmer's execution, and before the end of the ſame year, 1556, he was made chancellor of Oxford and Cambridge. The hotteſt period of Bonner's fiery perſecution was from December 1555 to December 1556, when the cardinal was in the zenith of his power; for it declined ſoon after, from cauſes which ſhall be mentioned, after we have given ſome account of the infamous executioner of the tyranny of Mary, under her angel of peace, the cardinal legate.

EDMUND BONNER was the reputed ſon of a lawyer in Cheſhire, but his mother was pregnant by one Savage, a prieſt, and married the lawyer to conceal her diſgrace. Being deſigned for the church, he ſtudied at Broadgate-hall, now Pembroke College, Oxford, and was made doctor of the canon law in 1525; but was never diſtinguiſhed for his learning having rather a turn for ſtate affairs. This recommended him to Wolſey, and after his death to king Henry, by means of Cromwell, on whom he impoſed himſelf as a friend to the Reformation. Henry wanting an ambaſſador, who could talk in a menacing ſtyle to the pope and the king of France, pitched upon Bonner, whoſe brutal ferocity ſeemed ſuited to the occaſion; but he ſo far exceeded the bounds of common decency at Marſeilles, when he delivered the king's appeal, that the pope threatened to throw him into a cauldron of melted lead,

lead, or to burn him alive, upon which he made his eſcape. And ſoon after, behaving with great inſolence to Francis I. the French monarch bade him write to his maſter, "That his ambaſſador was a great fool, and that if it were not for the love of his maſter, he ſhould have an hundred ſtrokes with an halbert." He was recalled, but Henry finding him a pliant tool for every occaſion, made him firſt biſhop of Hereford, and then of London in 1539, when the bloody articles were to be enforced. And now the pretended Proteſtant (Cromwell being taken off) ſhewed himſelf in his true colours; his cruelties continuing till the acceſſion of Edward reſpecting the Reformation, and at the ſame time ſecretly oppoſed it, and fomented the inſurrections of the Papiſts. He was therefore deprived, and committed to the Marſhalſea, till queen Mary releaſed him, and reſtored him to his former dignity in 1553. From this time, as his power increaſed, ſo did his inhumanity, which was exerciſed in the moſt ſhocking acts of cruelty, having a dungeon and inſtruments of torture in his own houſe; and took an infernal pleaſure in puniſhing the unfortunate people in his cuſtody with his own hands. Such was the character of the man, who acted as chief commiſſioner under the cardinal, to whom we will now return.

The year 1557 was opened with a ridiculous farce, added to the tragedy that was acting in all parts of the kingdom. At Oxford the body of Peter Martyr's wife was taken up, and underwent a proceſs; but being a foreigner, who underſtood no Engliſh, no witneſſes could be brought to prove her a heretic; and therefore the body, by the cardinal's order, was buried again in a dung-hill. At Cambridge, the bodies of Bucer and Fagius being buried in St Mary's and St Michael's churches, they were put under an interdict, and no ſervice could be performed in them; after which a formal proceſs was commenced againſt the deceaſed heretics. They were cited to appear, or any perſons

perſons for them; but after three citations the dead not ariſing to defend themſelves, nor any of the living appearing to plead for them, (for fear of being ſent after them) witneſſes were examined againſt them, and they were condemned as obſtinate heretics; the bodies being ordered to be dug up, and deivered to the ſecular power. After this, an account was ſent of the proceedings to London, and a writ was ſent down to the ſheriffs, in conſequence of which, the bodies were carried in their coffins tied to the ſtake and burnt, with copies of their books.

But though the cardinal thus countenanced every abſurd and cruel meaſure to enforce the Romiſh faith, Paul IV. openly ſhewed his averſion to him, by revoking his legatine power, which he conferred this year on Peyto, a Franciſcan friar; whom he had ſent for to Rome, and a cardinal for the purpoſe, deſigning him alſo for the ſee of Saliſbury. This appointment was made in September, and the new legate was actually on the road for England, when the bulls came to queen Mary; who, having been informed of their contents by her ambaſſador, laid them up without opening them, or acquainting her couſin with the matter, in whoſe behalf ſhe wrote to the pope, and aſſuming ſome of her father's ſpirit, ſhe wrote to Peyto, forbiding him to proceed on his journey, and charging him on his peril, not to ſet foot on Engliſh ground.

But nothwithſtanding all her caution to conceal the matter from the cardinal, it was not poſſible to keep it long a ſecret; and he no ſooner became acquainted with the holy father's pleaſure, than out of that implicit veneration, which he conſtantly and unalterably preſerved for the apoſtolic ſee, he voluntarily laid down the enſigns of his legantine power, and forbore the exerciſe of it; diſpatching his truſty miniſter Ormaneto to Rome, with letters, wherein he cleared himſelf in ſuch ſubmiſſive terms, as it is ſaid even mollified and melted the obdurate heart of Paul. The truth is, the pontiff was brought into a better temper by ſome late

late events, which turned his regard from the French toward the Spaniards, and the ſtorm againſt Pole blew over entirely, by a peace that was concluded this year, between his holineſs and Philip, in one of the ſecret articles of which, it was ſtipulated, that our cardinal ſhould be reſtored to his legatine powers. But he did not live to enjoy the reſtoration full twelve months, being ſeized with a double quartan ague, which carried him off the ſtage of life, early in the morning of the eighteenth of November, 1558.

His death is ſaid to have been haſtened by that of his royal miſtreſs and kinſwoman, queen Mary; which happened about ſixteen hours before, in the 43d year of her age, and 6th of her reign. His body being put into a leaden coffin, laid forty days in great ſtate, at Lambeth; after which, it was conveyed thence with as great funeral pomp to Canterbury, and interred with ſolemnity on the north ſide of Thomas of Becket's chapel, in that cathedral. Over his grave there was erected a tomb, on which were inſcribed only theſe three words, as ſufficient to his fame, Depoſitum Cardinalis Poli.

Thus was England happily delivered from papal tyranny, and the diſgraceful adminiſtration of a weak woman, who was fitter for a cloyſter than a throne. It is ſaid, however, that ſhe felt ſome compunction for the loſs of Calais, which fell into the hands of the French the year ſhe died, after it had been in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh above 200 years; owing to the neglect of her miniſtry, wholly employed in the arduous buſineſs of proſecuting heretics. But this event was not the true cauſe of that deep melancholy which carried her to the grave. It was occaſioned by the deſertion of Philip, who treated her unkindly, and upon his father's reſignation of the Spaniſh crown to him, left her abruptly.

The cardinal's character has been ſo variouſly ſtated by different writers, that it is a hard taſk to aſcertain the

the exact truth at this diſtance of time: it may, therefore, be thought more diſcreet to refer the critical reader to different authorities, diſtinguiſhing the Roman from the Proteſtant writers by the letters R. and P.

*** *Authorities.* Life of Pole, by Ludovico Beccatelli, (his ſecretary) R. tranſlated by Pye, with notes, London, 1766. Thuanus R. Burnet's Hiſt of the Reformation, P. Life of Pole, by T. Philips, R. Review of Philips, by the Rev. Glouceſter Ridley P. Animadverſions on Philips, by Dr Neve, P. Britiſh Biography, vol. II. 1766. P.

THE LIFE OF

SEBASTIAN CABOT,

DISCOVERER OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

[A. D. 1477, to 1557.]

IN a maritime country, we know of no claſs of ſubjects who can more juſtly claim the grateful remembrance of poſterity, than able ſeamen, whether conſidered in the light of ſkilful navigators, or as brave defenders, on the ocean, of the national rights and private property of their country.

For this reaſon, having brought down the civil and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England to the period which concludes this volume, we cannot cloſe it with greater propriety, than by giving a conciſe account of Sebaſtian Cabot, the contemporary, and rival in the book of fame, of Veſpucius Americanus, between whom and our Engliſh navigator, the firſt diſcovery of North America is conteſted.

SEBASTIAN CABOT was the ſon of John Cabot, an eminent Venetian navigator, who came to England in the

the reign of Edward IV. and being pleaſed with the country, ſettled at Briſtol; and when the news arrived in England of the diſcoveries made by Columbus in South America, which tended to enrich Spain, Henry VII. from his avaricious temper, rather than from any laudable motive, reſolved to ſend ſome of his ſubjects upon an expedition to make ſimilar diſcoveries; and, upon this occaſion, John Cabot was recommended to the king as an able, enterpriſing ſeaman, and one who excelled all others in his profeſſion, which had been originally that of a pilot. Accordingly, the king gave him a commiſſion in 1496, for the diſcovery of unknown lands, but more particularly of a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies.

Young Cabot was born at Briſtol about the year 1477, and being brought up to the ſea, had made ſeveral ſhort voyages, and being properly qualified, he, and his two brothers Lewis and Sancho, were joined in the commiſſion given to the father, in caſe of his death, and it was expreſsly commanded that they ſhould return to the port of Briſtol.

They had likewiſe the royal licenſe to take up ſix ſhips in any haven of the realm, and as many mariners as they could procure. In conſequence of this permiſſion, one large ſhip was equipped, at Briſtol, at the king's expence; and the merchants of London and Briſtol added three or four ſmall veſſels.

With theſe, John Cabot and his ſon Sebaſtian ſet ſail in the ſpring of 1497, and ſucceſsfully kept on a north-weſt courſe. On the 24th of June they diſcovered land, which they therefore called *Prima Viſta*, and the iſland which lies out to ſea, before the mainland, they called St John's, becauſe they diſcovered it on the feſtival of that ſaint. They afterwards called the whole coaſt, the Iſland of *Baccalaos*, being the name given by the natives to a fiſh found along it in great abundance, ſince named Cod; and in after-times

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the place took the name of Newfoundland, which it ſtill bears.

John Cabot and his ſon took poſſeſſion of this land, in the name of the king of England, after which they ſailed down to Cape Florida, and then returned to England with a valuable cargo, and three of the natives, who were cloathed in ſkins, eat raw fleſh, and uttered an unintelligible ſpeech, not like any human language. All we know more concerning the father is, that he had the honour of knighthood conferred on him. There is likewiſe a chaſm of near twenty years in the life of Sebaſtian, but from the writings of foreigners it may be collected, that after his father's death, he made other voyages to complete the ſettlement of Newfoundland, and theſe might give riſe to the miſtake of attributing the firſt expedition to him; an error we frequently meet with in the imperfect annals of theſe times.

If this worthy man had performed nothing more, his name ought ſurely to be tranſmitted to future times with honour; ſince it clearly appears, that Newfoundland hath been a ſource of riches and naval power to this nation, from the time it was diſcovered, and as it was the firſt of our plantations, with ſtrict juſtice it may be ſaid of Sebaſtian Cabot, and of his father, that they were the authors of our maritime ſtrength, and opened the way to thoſe improvements which ſince have rendered us ſuch a powerful maritime and commercial nation.

The next tranſaction, in which he was concerned, occurred in the eighth of king Henry VIII. and our accounts of it are rather obſcure. It appears, however, that Cabot had entered into a ſtrict correſpondence with Sir Thomas Pert, at this time vice-admiral of England, who had a houſe at Poplar, and who procured him a good ſhip of the king's, in order to make more diſcoveries. But it looks as if he had now changed his route, and intended to have paſſed by the

South

South to the Eaſt Indies; for he ſailed firſt to Brazil, and, failing there in his purpoſe, ſhaped his courſe for the iſlands of Hiſpaniola and Porto Rico, where he carried on ſome traffic; and then returned, being abſolutely diſappointed in the deſign upon which he went; not through any want either of courage or conduct in himſelf, but from the faint-heartedneſs of Sir Thomas Pert, and the want of manly courage in ſome of the other people who were connected with him.

This diſappointment, in all probability, inclined Sebaſtian Cabot to leave England, and to go over to Spain; where he was treated with very great reſpect, being declared pilot-major, or chief-pilot of Spain; and by his office intruſted with the reviewing all projects for diſcoveries, which, in thoſe days, were many and important.

His great capacity, and approved integrity, induced many rich merchants to treat with him, in the year 1524, about a voyage to be undertaken, at their expence, by the new-found paſſage of Magellan (diſcovered by Ferdinand Magellan, 1520), to the Moluccas; which at length he accepted; and of which we have the following account by Herrera the Spaniſh hiſtorian:

"He ſailed about the beginning of April, 1525, firſt to the Canaries, then to the iſlands of Cape Verde, thence to Cape Auguſtine and the iſland of Patos, or Geeſe; and near Bahia de Todos Los Santos, or the Bay of all Saints, he met a French ſhip. He was ſaid to have managed but indiſcreetly, being in want of proviſions when he came to the iſland; but there the Indians were very kind, and ſupplied him with proviſions for all his ſhips; but he requited them very indifferently, carrying away with him, by force, four ſons of the principal men.

"Thence he proceeded to the River of Plate, having left aſhore, on a deſart iſland, Martin Mendez, his vice-admiral, captain Francis de Rojus, and Mi-

chael de Rodus, becauſe they cenſured his management; and, in concluſion, he went not to the Spice-iſlands, as well becauſe he had not proviſions, as that the men would not ſail under him, fearing his conduct of the veſſel in the Streights.

"He ſailed up the river of Plate, and above thirty leagues above the mouth found an iſland which he called S. Gabriel, about a league in compaſs, and half a league from the continent towards Brazil. There he anchored, and rowing with the boats three leagues higher, diſcovered a river he called San Salvador, or St Saviour, very deep, and a ſafe harbour for the ſhips on the ſame ſide; whither he brought up his veſſels and unloaded them, becauſe at the mouth of the river there was not much water.

"Having built a fort, and left ſome men in it, he reſolved to proceed up that river with boats and a flat-bottom caravel, in order to make diſcoveries, thinking that, although he did not paſs through the Streights to the Spice-iſlands, his voyage would not be altogether fruitleſs.

"Having advanced thirty leagues, he came to a river called Zacarana; and finding the natives thereabouts a good rational people, he erected another fort, calling it Santi Spiritus, i. e. of the Holy Ghoſt; but his people called it Cabot's Fort. He thence diſcovered the ſhore of the river Parana, which is that called Plate, where he found many iſlands and rivers; and keeping along the greateſt ſtream, at the end of two hundred leagues came up to another river, which the Indians call Paraguay, and left the great river on the right, thinking it bent towards the coaſt of Brazil; and running up thirty-four leagues, found people tilling the ground; a thing which, in thoſe parts, he had not ſeen before. There he met with ſo much oppoſition, that he advanced no farther, but killed many Indians, and they ſlew twenty-five of his Spaniards, and took three that were gone to gather palmetos to eat.

"While

"While Cabot was thus employed, James Garcia was ſent from Galicia, with one ſhip, a ſmall tender, and a brigantine, to make diſcoveries in the river of Plate, without knowing that the other was there before him. He entered the ſaid river about the beginning of the year 1527, having ſent away his own, which was a large ſhip, alledging that it was of too great a burthen for that diſcovery; and, with the reſt, came to an anchor in the ſame place where Cabot's ſhip lay, then directing his courſe, with two brigantines and ſixty men, towards the river Parana, which lies north and north-weſt, he arrived at the fort built by Cabot. About one hundred and ten leagues above this fort, he found Sebaſtian Cabot himſelf in the port of St Anne, ſo named by the latter; and, after a ſhort ſtay there, they returned together to the fort of the Holy Ghoſt; and from thence ſent meſſengers into Spain."

Thoſe who were diſpatched by Sebaſtian Cabot, were Francis Calderon and George Barlow, who gave a very fair account of the fine countries bordering on the river La Plata, ſhewing how large a tract of land he had not only diſcovered, but ſubdued, and producing gold, ſilver, and other rich commodities, as evidences of their commander's conduct. The requiſitions they made in his name were, that a ſupply ſhould be ſent of proviſions, ammunition, goods proper to carry on a trade, and a competent recruit of ſeamen and ſoldiers. To this the merchants, by whom Cabot's ſquadron was fitted out, would not agree, but choſe to reſign their rights to the crown of Caſtile. The king then took the whole upon himſelf, but was ſo dilatory in his preparations, that Sebaſtian Cabot, quite tired out, having been five years out upon this expedition, reſolved to turn home, which he did, embarking the remainder of his men, and all his effects, on board the largeſt of his ſhips, and leaving the ſmaller veſſels behind him.

It was the ſpring of the year 1531, when Cabot arrived at the Spaniſh court, and gave an account of his voyage. It is evident from the manner in which the Spaniſh author ſpeaks of him, that he was not well received; and one may eaſily account for it. He had raiſed himſelf enemies by treating his Spaniſh mutineers with great ſeverity; and, on the other hand, his owners were diſappointed by his not purſuing his voyage to the Moluccas. He kept his place, however, and remained in the ſervice of Spain many years after, till at length, he was invited over to England.

His return is ſuppoſed to have happened towards the cloſe of the reign of Henry VIII. for it appears that he reſided at Briſtol in the year 1546.

In the firſt year of Edward VI. this celebrated navigator was introduced to the duke of Somerſet, with whom he was in great favour, and by whom he was made known to the king, who took a great deal of pleaſure in his converſation, being much better verſed in the ſtudies to which Cabot had applied himſelf, than moſt of his courtiers, notwithſtanding his youth. For he knew not only all the ports and havens in his own dominions, but alſo thoſe in France, their ſhape, the courſe to enter them, their commodities and incommodities, and, in ſhort, could anſwer almoſt any queſtion about them that a ſailor could aſk. We need not wonder, therefore, that with ſuch a prince, Cabot was in high eſteem, or that, in his favour, a new office ſhould be erected, equivalent to that which he had enjoyed in Spain, together with a penſion of 166l. 13s. 4d. which we find granted to him by letters patent, dated January 6, 1549, in the ſecond year of that king's reign, by a ſpecial clauſe in which patent this annuity is made to commence from the Michaelmas preceding. Thenceforward he continued highly in the king's favour, and was conſulted upon all matters relating to trade, particularly in the great caſe of the merchants of the Steel-yard in 1551, of which notice has

has been taken in the life of the duke of Northumberland.

In the month of May, 1552, Cabot laid propoſals before the king, for a diſcovery of the north-eaſt paſſage to China and the Indies: which being approved, three ſhips were fitted out for the enterpriſe, and the command given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, to whom inſtructions were given, drawn up by Sebaſtian Cabot, at this time governor of the Company of Merchants Adventurers. Theſe inſtructions are preſerved entire in Hakluyt, and are a convincing proof how highly and deſervedly he was eſteemed by the king and the merchants. Sir Hugh Willoughby ſailed from Graveſend in May 1553, and in Auguſt he loſt ſight of his ſecond ſhip, commanded by captain Richard Chancellor, which never joined him again. In the ſame month he diſcovered Greenland, but the Dutch pretend to an earlier diſcovery. His utmoſt progreſs was to 72 deg. N. Lat. and then finding the weather intolerably cold, the year far ſpent, and his ſhips unable to bear the ſea, he put into the haven of Arzina in Lapland, on the 18th of September; but being unable to come out when the froſt ſet in, Sir Hugh was found there the next ſpring, frozen to death (and all his ſhips company), having the journals of his voyage and his will lying before him; by which it appeared that he lived till January, 1554.

As for captain Chancellor, after many dangers and difficulties, he penetrated to Archangel in Muſcovy, being the firſt perſon who diſcovered a paſſage to that port; and from thence he returned ſafe home. But unfortunately for him, he went a ſecond voyage to the ſame place, to bring over an ambaſſador from the court of Muſcovy to queen Mary, who brought her preſents, with an invitation to open a commercial intercourſe between England and Muſcovy; and on their paſſage the ſhip was caſt away upon the coaſt of Scotland, when

when captain Chancellor, in ſaving the life of the Ruſſian ambaſſador, was drowned.

In conſequence of this embaſſy, the Ruſſia company was eſtabliſhed by charter, 1 Philip and Mary, 1554, and of this Company Sebaſtian Cabot was appointed Governor for life, becauſe he was principally concerned in fitting out the firſt ſhips employed in that trade.

After this, we find him very active in the affairs of the Company in the year 1556; and in the journal of Mr Stephen Burroughs, it is obſerved, that on the 27th of April that year, he went down to Graveſend, and there went aboard the Searchthrift, a ſmall veſſel, fitted out under the command of the ſaid Burroughs, for Ruſſia, where he gave generouſly to the ſailors, and, on his return to Graveſend, he extended his alms very liberally to the poor, deſiring them to pray for the ſucceſs of this voyage. We find it alſo remarked, that, upon his coming back to Graveſend, he cauſed a grand entertainment to be made at the ſign of the Chriſtopher, where, ſays Mr Burroughs, for the very joy he had to ſee the towardneſs of our intended diſcovery, he entered into the dance himſelf, a circumſtance which ſhews the urbanity and chearfulneſs of his diſpoſition. This is the laſt action of his life on record, and it is conjectured that he died ſoon after, at about ſeventy years of age.

He was unqueſtionably one of the moſt extraordinary men of the age in which he lived; and by his capacity and induſtry contributed not a little to the ſervice of mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom. For he was the firſt who took notice of the variation of the compaſs, which is of ſuch vaſt conſequence in navigation, and has engaged the attention of the learned from that time to the preſent.

*** *Authorities.* Herrera's Hiſtory of the Indies. Hakluyt's Navigations and Diſcoveries of the Engliſh, edit. 1589. Lediards Naval Hiſtory.

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